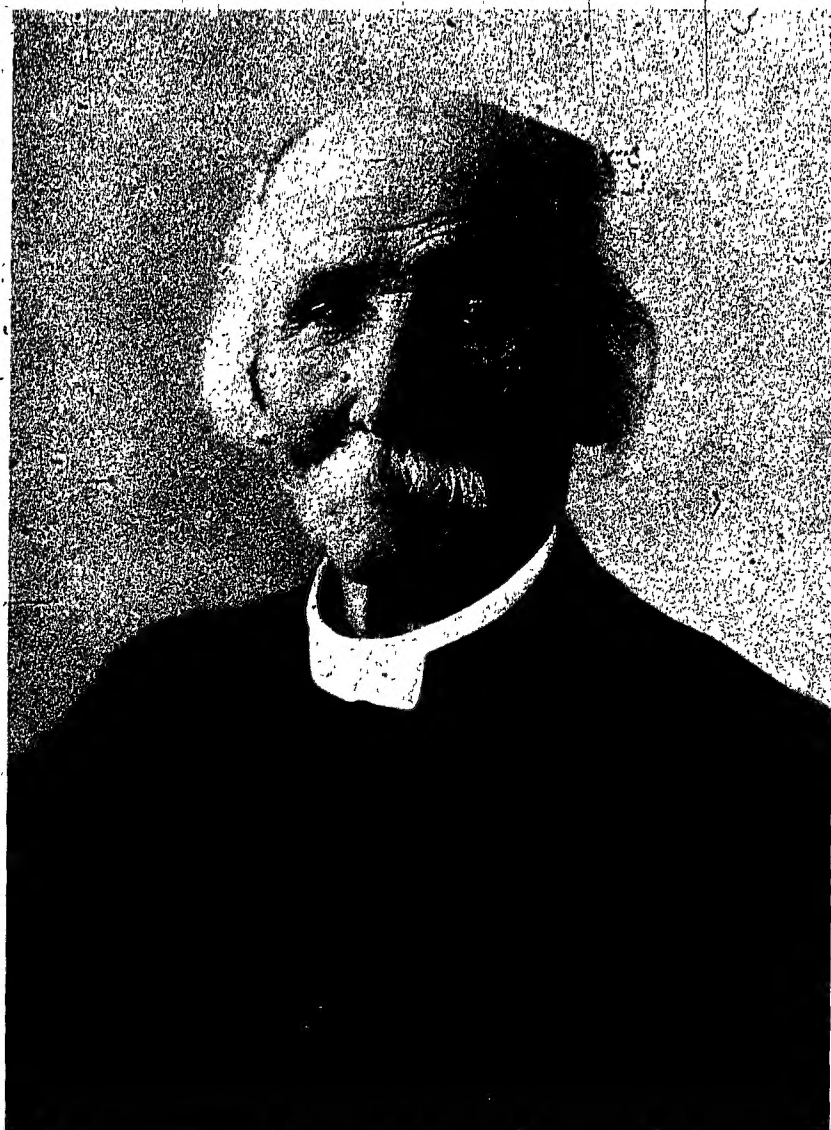


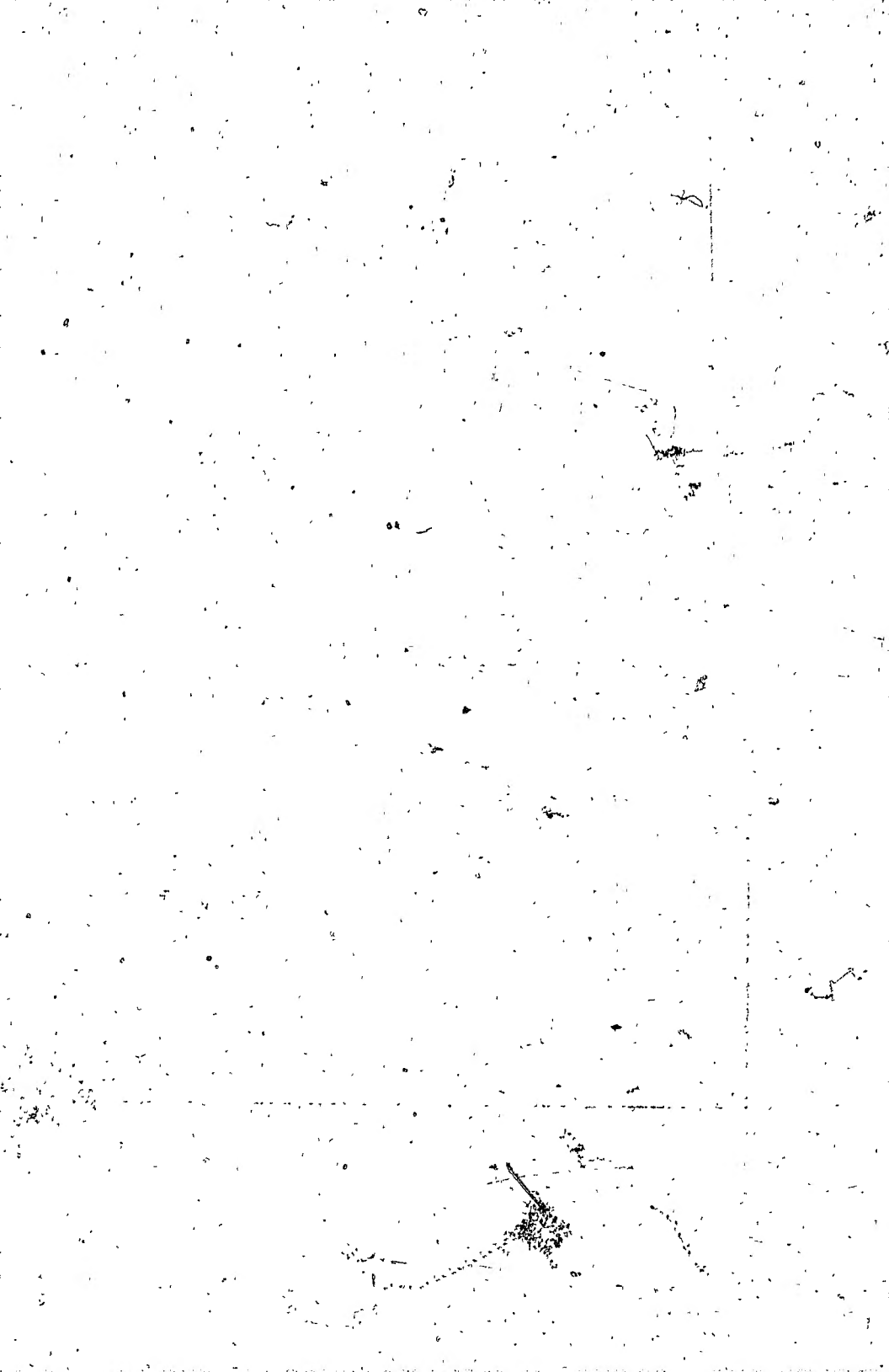
THE CORRECTION LINE

THIS BOOK IS ONE OF THE FIRST EDITION VOLUMES
LIMITED TO FOUR HUNDRED COPIES

Printed by STOVEL COMPANY LIMITED, Winnipeg, Manitoba



Alfred E. Givens



THE CORRECTION LINE

by

REV. A. C. GARRIOCH

Author of

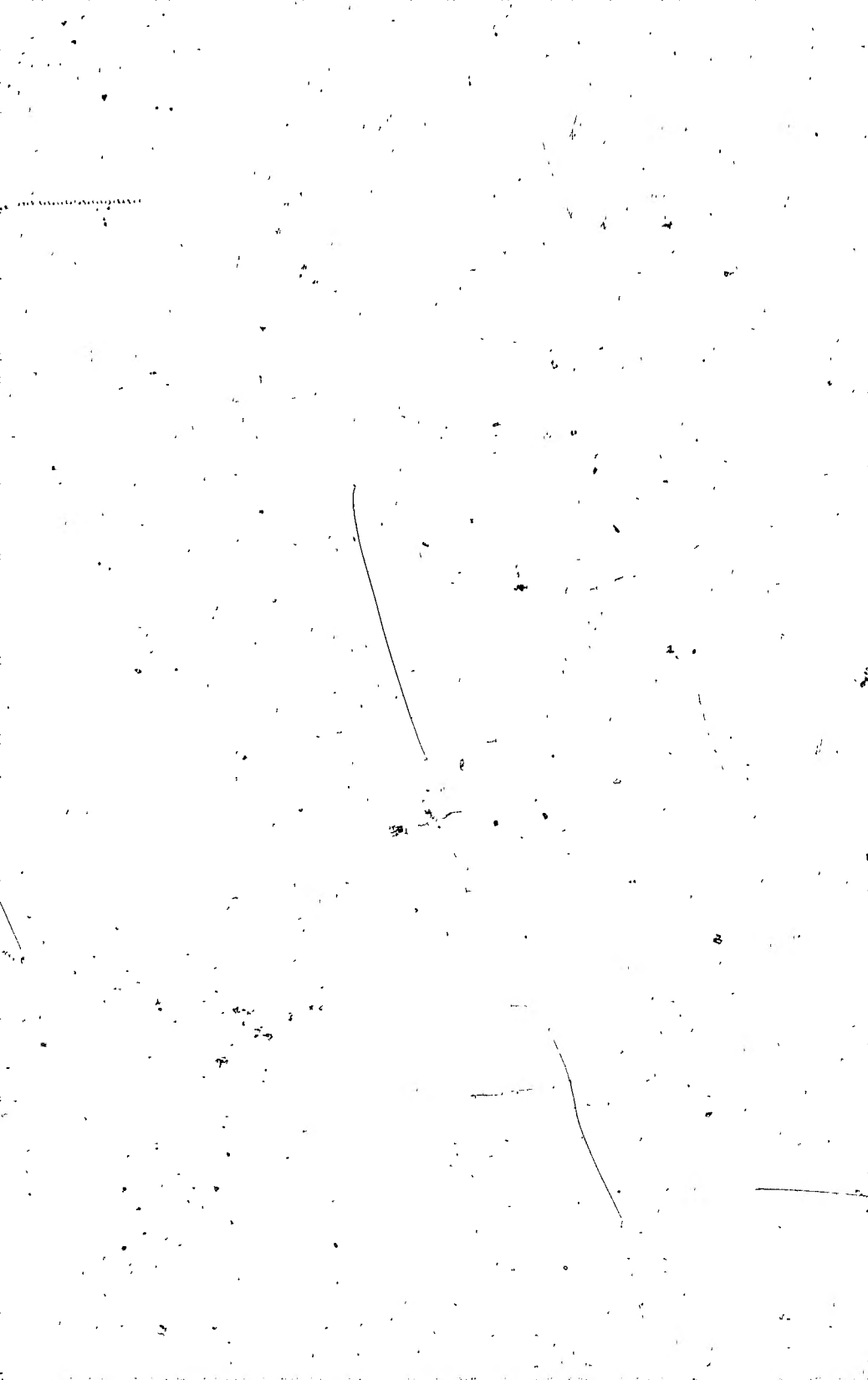
"FIRST FURROWS"

"THE FAR AND FURRY NORTH"

"A HATCHET MARK IN DUPLICATE"

STOVEL COMPANY LIMITED
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

1933



PREFACE

Travelling along the surveyed roads of this country one notices at regular intervals what is familiarly referred to as "The Correction Line," or, in popular parlance, "a 'jag' in the road." And the enquiring mind soon learns that these departures from the northward lines already surveyed up to this latitude are necessary; that they are in fact vital parts of a survey system whereby counteraction is applied in order to prevent very serious consequences which would otherwise occur due to the spherical form of the earth. Nevertheless, "The Correction Line" is a term also applied not so much with reference to spherical curves which are being offset, as to the human limitations in the surveyors themselves with which they have to reckon, for no amount of skill or pains will enable a surveyor to extend a straight line to any great distance without an unconscious departure from perfect straightness. Therefore, before going too far he must "check up" on his work by means of a fresh observation of the polar star, and it is this necessity which he is under which in truth gives the place its name, and which has suggested what it seemed to the writer would be a good title for this history, implying as it does the writer's consciousness of human limitations akin to those which beset the surveyor in the practice of his profession, necessitating as in his case a frequent revision of his work and a fresh consultation with the *Polar Star of Truth*.

"The Correction Line" is not a mere revision of "First Furrows." It is practically a new history, the additional contents of which called for a much larger book than the former, and among its other advantages is the not unimportant one of a comprehensive index.

A. C. GARRIOCH

FOREWORD

I should like to add my word of appreciation to that of many others for the great contribution made by Rev. A. C. Garrioch throughout a very full and lengthy life.

Born at Middlechurch, February 10th, 1848, he spent his boyhood days amongst the first colonial leaders and some of the Selkirk settlers, who were still living at that time. Something of the spirit of pioneering early entered his character.

He, too, has hewn out a place in the "Last Great West"—and in this volume makes his contribution to the memories of the past.

His work carried him to various places. Some time was spent amongst the Cree and Beaver Indians—again at a Church—or a school. Constantly he worked for the up-building of that community entrusted to his charge as spiritual adviser. Work of this sort brought him into personal contact with the early settlers and the leaders of the drama being enacted throughout the West. What he has seen—what the threads of development were, and how the flower of Western Canada unfolded, he has traced with indefatigable care in this volume. It represents a monumental contribution of one whose lifetime has been spent for his fellowman.

I have intimately known the Garrioch family since my boyhood days and always have had a great respect for the members thereof. They and their associates and acquaintances truly represented the pioneering spirit that settled and developed this great western Canadian heritage of ours.

Since my earliest acquaintance with the author of this book I have had the highest respect for him personally and have had a great admiration for the Christian fortitude with which he labored in his allotted field, and particularly have I admired his ambitious spirit and perseverance in committing to print the story of pioneer achievement.

Such is the book—such the man. I am happy to have had this opportunity of adding my word of praise of one who from the fullness of years places such helpful emphasis on the past.

EDWARD ANDERSON, K.C.

Winnipeg, Manitoba
October, 1933

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

| | PAGE |
|------------------------|------|
| NEW FRANCE (1670-1760) | 1 |

CHAPTER II

| | |
|--|----|
| PUGNACITY CONTINUES UNDER BRITISH RULE (1760-1815) | 14 |
|--|----|

CHAPTER III

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| A CHAPTER OF TRAGEDIES (1816-1820) | 32 |
|------------------------------------|----|

CHAPTER IV

| | |
|---|----|
| EVANGELIZATION AND AMALGAMATION (1820-1821) | 56 |
|---|----|

CHAPTER V

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| PROGRESSIVENESS ON TRIAL (1821-1825) | 70 |
|--------------------------------------|----|

CHAPTER VI

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| INUNDATION AND EDUCATION (1825-1836) | 87 |
|--------------------------------------|----|

CHAPTER VII

| | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| COUNCIL OF ASSINIBOIA | 104 |
|-----------------------|-----|

CHAPTER VIII

| | |
|---|-----|
| PROGRESS UNDER SIR GEORGE SIMPSON AND THE MISSIONARIES (1835-1844) | 119 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER IX

| | |
|--|-----|
| ARRIVAL OF BISHOP ANDERSON (1844-1854) | 135 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER X

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| THE ARRIVAL OF REV. JOHN BLACK (1851) | 152 |
|---------------------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XI

| | |
|---|-----|
| ARCHDEACON COCHRANE GOES WEST (1851-1857) | 176 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XII

| | |
|---|-----|
| BLACKBIRD AND GRASSHOPPER HANDICAPS AT PORTAGE (1851-1857 CONTINUED) | 192 |
|---|-----|

CONTENTS (*Continued*)

CHAPTER XIII

| | |
|--|-----|
| THE FIRST RED RIVER SETTLEMENT NEWSPAPER (1857-1862) | 211 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XIV

| | |
|---|-----|
| THE COUNCIL OF PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE (1862-1865) | 235 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XV

| | |
|--|-----|
| CHANGES COINCIDENT WITH THE ARRIVAL OF BISHOP MACHRAY (1865-1868) | 262 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XVI

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| RIEL REBELLION (1868-1870) | 279 |
|----------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XVII

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT (1870) | 297 |
|-----------------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XVIII

| | |
|--|-----|
| REBELLIONS, FIRST AND SECOND (1870-1885) | 322 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XIX

| | |
|---|-----|
| CONCLUDING CHAPTER ABOUT PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE (1885-1933) | 356 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XX

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| THE FIVE DECADES ENDING 1933 | 387 |
|------------------------------|-----|

| | |
|-------|-----|
| INDEX | 415 |
|-------|-----|

ILLUSTRATIONS

| The Author | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
|--|---------------------|
| | PAGE |
| Ven. Archdeacon Cochrane | 20 |
| Bishop Anderson | 52 |
| Archbishop Machray | 84 |
| Archbishop Matheson | 116 |
| Most. Rev. Isaac O. Stringer, D.D. | 148 |
| Rev. John Black | 153 |
| The First St. John's Church—John West Church | 163 |
| Old St. Paul's Church, Middlechurch | 180 |
| St. Peter's Church | 180 |
| First St. Mary's Church, Portage la Prairie | 189 |
| Present St. John's Cathedral | 212 |
| St. Andrew's Church as at Present | 212 |
| Bannocks in the Making | 226 |
| Parochial School at St. John's | 244 |
| Westbourne Mission Station | 244 |
| St. John's College School (1866-1890) | 276 |
| Old St. John's Cathedral, Divinity Hall, Gymnasium, Old School and Deputy Head Master's House | 276 |
| Lower Fort Garry | 292 |
| Louis Riel | 292 |
| Archdeacon Parker | 356 |
| Church, Parish Hall and Rectory of St. Mary's | 356 |





CHAPTER ONE

1670-1760

New France

IF ANY history of Canada as a whole, or of Canada East or West, is to be so written that honour will be given to whom honour is due, then a fair share of the credit must be given to the French for the present standing of Canada among the nations of the world, for who can tell what might not have happened had not the adventurous Frenchmen, Radisson and Groseillers visited England and communicated to men of kindred spirit, including that Prince of Adventurers, Prince Rupert, their belief that there lay untold wealth in the fur-trade of North-West America if it were developed via Hudson Bay. For was it not thus that in 1670 there came into existence that world-renowned chartered monopoly known as the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, which ever since has been identified with the civilizing agencies of which the land of its birth approves?

Then when the activities of Radisson and Groseillers had come to an end about twenty years after the birth of the Company, and none other in New France, as Canada was then called, cared to emulate their enterprise by seeking wealth in "long-distance" fur-trade, there elapsed in consequence a period of forty years during which there was no further penetration into the interior, followed by a thirty-two year period during which excursions were desultory in character and mostly insignificant in results, so that when the Company had been a century in existence, the vast and more distant portions of North-West America were still to both French and English *terra incognita*.

And then in 1763 another celebrated Frenchman came to the front in the person of *Sieur Gautier Verennes de la Verandrye*, whose exploits, both as trader and explorer, quite equalled those of Radisson and Groseillers. Verandrye's great ambition was to discover an overland route to the Pacific Ocean, and he engaged in the fur-trade as a means to this end, as well as a means of supporting his family. Under the circumstances anxiety, uncertainty and delay were inevitable, and when there was added to these the misrepresentations of parties in the East; there is no cause for surprise that he failed to achieve his main purpose. Notwithstanding this, however, he deservedly ranks high among Canada's Pathfinders, for he discovered enough and exemplified enough in his lifetime to make his name great even if he did fail to reach the "big lake whose waters were too salt to drink."

As the writer, so far as he can foresee, spent much the greater part of his life in Portage la Prairie, he is naturally fairly well up in its history and topography, and is of the opinion that Verandrye showed sound judgment in making it his headquarters.

Perhaps due to the facts that the place has a French name and that the first white man known to have located there was a Frenchman, it has come to be the commonly accepted opinion that it was Verandrye who gave the place its name; but what he really did was to translate into French for the benefit of his followers the meaning of an Indian name which he found in use, and which, very likely, was first given in a language which was dead in Verandrye's time. In support of this opinion I may say that John McDonell, an officer of the North-West Company, who was in charge of a post on the Qu'Appelle River, and who often travelled along the Assiniboine River, wrote an account of the river in 1797, in which he states that "Portage la Prairie was so called by the Indians time out of mind." That, of course, would reach further back than fifty-nine years—the time of Verandrye. It would probably mean hundreds of years—a time when physical conditions even more than in Verandrye's time would suggest the name applied in the current Indian language of that day, of which the meaning would be that contained in Portage la Prairie, viz: *the plain carrying place*.

A slight examination of the physical features of the locality will show that it bears a suitable name, for on the north bank of the Assiniboine, where a cairn in memory of Verandrye was unveiled on June 12, 1929, there commences a depression or valley which is dry at the start and wet at the finish. That depression was likely caused by water seeking its level, and by erosion gradually providing itself an outlet, an outlet for which it had less and less use as the Assiniboine went on cutting its way down deeper and yet deeper, until it was below the level of the receiving end, of this natural channel. And then it was that this receiving end of necessity, became a portage whenever the Indians in their birch-bark canoes travelled between the Assiniboine River and Lake Manitoba. And so they named the creek, Portage Creek, and the plain, Portage Plain.

Well it may be said that the portage is not, and that although the plain is still with us it is very much changed, and we are trying to comfort ourselves with the belief that it has changed for the better because we hate to go back on the work of our own hands. Nevertheless, we who were conversant with it in the days of its pristine loveliness like to think of it as we saw it then, and are glad to hear from others who saw it as we did. I quote from one of these, who, having his eyes open found beauty in the natural world. Daniel Harmon, an officer of the North-West Company who was in charge of Fort Alexandria on the upper waters of the Assiniboine, wrote thus of Portage la Prairie on May first, 1805:

"Here the North-West Company have a miserable fort, the local site of which is beautiful beyond anything I have seen in this part of the world. Opposite the fort there is a plain which is about sixty miles long and from one to ten broad, in the whole extent of which not a single rise of ground is visible."

Before proceeding any further it will be in order to give, first, a very brief sketch of the fur-trading activities of the two noted Frenchmen Groseillers and Radisson, following it with a rather longer one of Verandrye.

Radisson was married to Groseiller's sister, and the two worked in partnership for a quarter century, from 1658 to 1683,

and after that Radisson carried on alone for seven years longer, during the last five of which he made an annual trip to Hudson Bay in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Partly owing to unfair treatment from both old and New France, and partly owing to war between England and France, kept up intermittently and with varying fortune during a considerable portion of the foregoing period, these Frenchmen contracted the unfortunate habit of trading sometimes under the patronage of one country and at other times under that of the other, a policy not to be commended even although at the time of its inception in 1662 they had received great provocation from the French. In that year they made a wonderful trade. They loaded three hundred canoes with furs, which, on their arrival at Quebec, were valued at \$300,000. Yet, so meanly were they treated that, by the time Governor D'Argenson got through with them, they had less than \$20,000 left for themselves.

As to the territories visited by these traders when they made this phenomenal trade, writers are at variance; some French historians claiming that they not only visited Lake Winnipeg, but continued northward via Nelson River until they reached Hudson Bay, incidently stating that their canoes were manned by Assiniboines. Other writers state that the body of water they discovered was Lake Winnipeg, and that their big trade was made with the natives living in its vicinity or further west. In this connection it may be remarked that unless they had gone west they were hardly likely to have had their canoes manned by Assiniboines whose country was along the river named after themselves; and that if they did go west that did not prevent them from afterwards going north, even as far as Hudson Bay. And, in any case, we may rest assured that among the furs which were taken to Quebec on this occasion, there were many pelts which had been purchased from the natives of Portage la Prairie; also, that on different occasions afterwards, Groseillers and Radisson purchased many more at Hudson Bay which came to them via Portage Creek.

Verandrye was born at Three Rivers, November 17, 1685. In those days every town was presided over by a Governor; and

the one presiding at Three Rivers at the time of Verandrye's birth was his father. Verandrye commenced his career as a soldier very early in life. He was in several wars and a great many battles, at the last of which, the battle of Malplaquet he so distinguished himself that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. In this battle he received nine wounds and was left on the field as dead.

But he was only dead to one profession to be alive to a better. His military calling, perforce, had to be abandoned, but only to be followed by one holding out brighter promise of benefit to posterity, without in the smallest degree militating against the honour of his own name or the glory of his beloved France. And so he became an explorer—the goal of his ambition being to discover a great sea to the west, of which he had heard.

His first step in this direction was taken on June 8, 1731, when, with a party of fifty men, composed of voyageurs, interpreters, a few soldiers and his three sons, aged respectively eighteen, seventeen and sixteen, he embarked in four large birch-bark canoes, and struck towards the northwest on his voyage of discovery.

He received no assistance from France, for as with other European nations at the time, her attention was engrossed with war, and she had neither money nor men to spare for purposes of exploration. He was, however, given a free hand to trade wherever any other Frenchman had traded, but further was granted a monopoly in all new countries which he might discover. In this manner he was supposed to pay his own way to the western sea and reimburse himself for the cost of exploration, a truly economical arrangement for France; but a rather precarious means of support for Verandrye and his family, when one considers the scalping propensities of the Indian tribes whose acquaintance he had already made, and that he was liable to fall in with others further west who might be still more ferocious, and that he had no hint as to the distance to the western sea, or of the physical obstructions to be encountered on the way thither.

In his first year, 1731, he went as far west as Rainy River where he built a fort which he named St. Pierre. In 1732 he built a fort at the Lake of the Woods which he named St. Charles.

In 1733 he descended the Winnipeg River, and in the year 1734 built Fort Maurepas on the shore of Lake Winnipeg, at the mouth of the Winnipeg River near to where Fort Alexander now stands. The Indians he came in contact with at these places were either Crees or Ojibeways, some of whom knew the French by reputation, some from actual contact.

During the next four years, being still unable to get any assistance from the French Government, he devoted himself to the requirements of the fur trade in such territory as was easy of access from the forts which he had established; but in 1738 he resolved to hold himself in check no longer and struck out for the west in quest of the great sea lying somewhere in that direction.

The nearest approach to definite information that he had as to the existence of such a sea, was what he had obtained from an Indian named Ochagach; and all that he had to tell was that its waters rose and fell and that they were too salt to drink. He claimed to have been told this by Indians who lived somewhere in the west, and who, he doubted not, would be able to tell Verandrye all about it, and, in fact guide him thither. So, on September 22, 1738, he loaded a number of canoes with supplies and struck out westward from Fort Maurepas. In two days he had skirted the southeast shore of Lake Winnipeg, entered the mouth of the Red River and paddled upstream to where Winnipeg now stands.

Verandrye does not seem to have been particularly impressed with the Hub of Canada. Whatever he may have heard for or against the place, who can tell; but one thing is certain, he had heard of a place up the Assiniboine where he could more advantageously locate in the interests of his business, so he gave the go-by to Winnipeg and went on to Portage la Prairie.

The Forks would seem to have made a more favourable impression on Mr. de la Marque, one of Verandrye's Lieutenants, than upon Mr. Verandrye himself. This official reached Portage la Prairie a little later than the main party, and following upon an after-thought of his, Verandrye a few days later sent a few men back to the Forks to build a small fort there. It was named Fort Rouge after the Red River. It was a small affair and was soon

abandoned because the Crees preferred trading either at Maurepas or the emporium of the west—Portage la Prairie.

The wisdom of Verandrye's selection of Portage la Prairie as his headquarters is readily understood when the modes of travel and transportation in vogue in his day are taken into account, as well as his project of discovering an overland route to the western sea. The birch-bark canoe was the boat of his time, and with it, shallow indeed were the waters that were not navigable; while journeys overland were made afoot, for horses and heavy boats belonged to a later time than that of Verandrye.

Verandrye commenced to build Fort de la Reine on October 3rd and finished it October 15th, so it could not have been an elaborate affair. Remembering, however, that he had the advantage of a military training, and that he had a considerable force of employeés, as well as the assistance of a band of Indians, it is likely that the fort was quite pretentious in size and appearance, well suited for the purpose intended and elegant enough to suit the tastes of Stone Indians.

These Indians are a branch of the Sioux tribe, called Pwatuk by the Crees and Pwanuk by the Saulteaux, and in order to distinguish them from the former they were called Assine Whatuk or Assine Whanuk, *Stone Sioux*, the distinguishing or qualifying word, Assine, *a stone*, having been suggested by a peculiar method these Indians had of boiling their meat in the days previous to their knowledge of pots and kettles. They dug a hole in the ground, and when they had made it watertight, placed water and red-hot stones therein, and so contrived to boil their meat.

Following a wise practice which is not as common as it might be, of retaining original names of places, the river on whose banks these Indians once lived is still called Assiniboine, the last syllable, *boine* or *bwain*, being a shortened and euphonized form of Pwanuk. But the poor Assine Pwanuk themselves, after whom the river was named, following in the wake of the bison, and like them swept westward by the advancing waves of civilization, struggle today for an existence, with their backs well up against the Rockies, and are to be found almost entirely within the confines of the Morely Reserves, forty miles west of Calgary.

A few days after completing Fort de la Reine, Verandrye continued his journey westward to discover, or at least learn something further about the Big Lake, *Kichî Sakahikun*, whose waters were too salt to drink. His party comprised fifty-two voyageurs and soldiers, and as the close of navigation was near, the journey was undertaken by land, the men carrying the necessary outfit on their backs.

They had not journeyed far when they were overtaken by two hundred Assiniboinés who invited them to their camp and accompanied them thither. These simple-minded people were greatly delighted and showed the explorer every mark of respect. He was, however, rather startled when he found them prepared to give practical expression to their friendship by accompanying him with wives, children, dogs and all, to the country of the Mandans. Too courteous to hurt their feelings by a refusal, Verandrye assented with the grace of a true Frenchman, and so moved on southward in the company of this motley crowd.

They arrived at the Mandan village about the end of November, 1738; and there also they received a most hearty welcome. The head chief speaking on behalf of himself and people, asked Verandrye to reckon them as among the members of his own family, than which, it was not possible, according to Indian ideas, to give any stronger proof of friendship and confidence. Verandrye, not to be outdone in civility, consented to the proposed honorary relationship, and the agreement was forthwith solemnly ratified as the chiefs bent before him and he placed his hands upon the head of each, a veritable "rite of laying on of hands." Ochagach had told Verandrye that the Mandans were as white skinned as Verandrye himself; but this turned out incorrect. Possibly Ochagach or his informant was colour-blind.

While Verandrye made a thorough examination of this village, his son paid a visit to another that was in the neighbourhood. In general style and arrangement they were much alike, and it was known that for a century after Verandrye's visit they were still maintained in a good state of preservation. The following is a description of the one Verandrye examined:

"Within the stockades were one hundred and fifty cabins. The streets and squares were laid out regularly, and were kept remarkably neat and clean. The smooth, wide ramparts were built with timbers strengthened with cross pieces. At each corner was a bastion, and the fort was surrounded by a ditch fifteen feet deep, and from fifteen to eighteen feet wide. He was astonished to find such elaborate fortification among a savage tribe. Nowhere else in the New World had he seen anything of the kind.

"The dwellings of the Mandans were large and comfortable; they were divided into several rooms, and around the wall were beds in the form of bunks. They had earthen vessels in which they cooked their food. They had under-ground storehouses in which they stored away fruits, skins, dried meat and grain for winter use, and for trading with neighbouring Indians for guns, and ammunition."

As may be supposed, Verandrye's multitudinous Assiniboine retinue would very soon have made serious inroads into these stores, had they remained guests of the Mandans for any length of time, so after they had been allowed a few days rest the wily Mandan chief contrived to disembarass himself and his honoured guests of their mutual friends—the Assiniboines; and the way he did this without hurting anybody's feelings shows that while he may have been a little behind Verandrye in politeness, he was away ahead of him in diplomacy.

He caused a rumour to be circulated that the Sioux were about to attack the village, and in apparent great excitement at once set preparations afoot to meet the attack. The peace-loving Stonies who had suffered enough in their own country from the warring propensities of their former compatriots, did not wait to be involved in the apparently impending Sioux-Mandan mix-up, and, hastily striking camp, fled for their lives.

On the day when he was to have started on his return to Portage la Prairie, Verandrye was taken seriously ill, and in consequence remained in the Mandan village till the middle of December. Even then he was still quite ill, and the sufferings he endured on the way back he mentions as the greatest he ever endured.

Two Frenchmen were left behind to learn the language. They rejoined him at his fort the following autumn. They reported a visit to the Mandan village from a party of Indians from the far west who were mounted on horses, and who reported another people still further west who dwelt in houses of brick and stone, and lived on the shores of a great lake whose waters were too salt to drink.

Probably owing to the grudging character of French patronage, Verandrye did not again in person make an attempt at the discovery of the Pacific, but made Fort de la Reine his headquarters all the time he was in the country, thence directing exploring expeditions westward *via* the Mandan village, and trading expeditions northward *via* Lake Manitoba. It was in line with such a policy that, while the two Frenchmen were learning the Mandan language so as to be of use in further westward exploration, Verandrye sent his son, Francois, to Lake Manitoba, with a view to the extension of trade in that direction. The prospects were found encouraging, and a fort named Fort Dauphin was built somewhere in the northwestern shore of the lake. While Francois was thus employed (1740) Pierre, his brother, was sent to the Mandan village to acquire more knowledge about the big lake, and even to get there if he could. In the meantime Verandrye gathered up the furs and journeyed to Montreal for a fresh outfit.

How nice it would be if we could treat our hard-working public servants to a little outing of this sort once in a while.

When Verandrye returned to Portage la Prairie in 1741, he was met by his son Pierre, who reported failure in exploration work owing to lack of assistance from the Mandans. Francois and his brother would seem to have been more persevering in their department. Following the northern water-stretches they passed from Lake Manitoba to Lake Winnipegosis, and thence to Cedar Lake on the Saskatchewan. There they built Fort Bourbon. Going further west they built another fort at The Pas, which is down-stream from the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan River. This fort they named Fort Pascoyok.

When the Verandryes met at Fort de la Reine on returning from their respective expeditions, it must have appeared to them

that if the honour of discovering *kihchikamik* was to be in their family, the wisest thing to do would be to give Francois and brother the next chance. To this end these two left Fort de la Reine in 1742, accompanied by two Frenchmen, and they succeeded in hiring two guides at the Mandan village. In the course of their journey they crossed the bad lands of the Missourie, and were astonished at the mounds and pillars brilliantly coloured in blue, crimson, green and yellow, and only that they thought it would not be a brilliant idea to load down their backs with unnecessary stuff, they would have liked to carry away a few specimens.

On this expedition the Verandryes made the acquaintance of the following tribes: the "Good-looking Indians," the "Little Foxes," the "Horse Indians," the "Bows," and "Indians of the Little Cherry." They reached the foot of the Rockies on New Year's day, 1743. It was the nearest to their objective that the Verandryes ever got. They arrived back at Fort de la Reine July 2, 1743, having been absent one year and forty-eight days.

An unfriendly influence having been exerted against Verandrye for some years in Montreal, he was summoned thither in 1746; and had to answer charges made against him by parties who were incapable of forming either a just estimate of the man or his achievements.

While he was being thus harassed, the seven forts he and his sons had built were falling into ruins; but in 1747 his son Francois returned and repaired them, including Fort de la Reine. The effort to resuscitate their trading met with but indifferent success, as the misrepresentation at Montreal continued; and when the French Government saw fit to transfer its patronage from Verandrye to M. de Noyelle, their business was again brought to a standstill.

We may well believe that so worthy a man as Verandrye had the satisfaction through life of a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men; and it may well be a satisfaction to all lovers of good men to learn that, thanks to the just representations of the Marquis de la Galissoniere, a reaction took place in his favour with the result that he was decorated with the Cross of

St. Louis, and restored to his leadership in the west; but these expressions of restored confidence came too late, for in the midst of preparations to resume his work in the west, he was stricken with serious illness and died before the end of the year.

As Verandrye's sons had been partners with him in his business they supposed that when the government patronage was renewed they were included, and that in consequence, although their father had died, they would of right continue the business the same as if he had lived; but the government refused to take this view of the matter; and although Francois Verandrye made a strong and manly appeal to the French authorities, adverse influence prevailed, and the Verandrye brothers were financially ruined; and being debarred from that sphere in which they had won their laurels, and in which they were best fitted to shine, their light went out and they sank into oblivion.

After the death of Verandrye, Legardeur de St. Pierre was appointed by the Government of France to carry on the search for the western sea, and for this purpose he left Montreal with a party in 1750.

He passed his first winter at Fort Maurepas whence he sent forward Niverville, one of his lieutenants, who with a party proceeded over Lake Winnipeg, hauling their supplies on toboggans. When they reached Fort Pascoyak, Niverville was taken ill, and had to remain there; but others of the party went on up-stream till they reached the foot of the Rockies, and there they built a fort which they named Fort la Jonquière in honour of the Governor. This was as near as they got to the western sea, but they had further confirmation of the story of Ochagach, for they saw some Indians who had seen other Indians who had seen the *kihchikamik*.

St. Pierre himself was no more successful, for though he seems to have made one determined dash towards the Pacific, the highest mark on record to his credit leads to the conclusion that he travelled only about as far west as the present city of Calgary. On the whole, though a brave and successful leader, he was an unsuccessful explorer, partly because he was not sufficiently diplomatic with the Indians. The following incident which occurred at Fort de la Reine in 1753, just before his recall and

departure from the country, would seem to indicate that had his perseverance been on a par with his decisiveness he might have reached the Pacific.

This occurred when he was alone in the fort, the few men comprising the garrison having gone out to hunt. Without any warning a large party of Assiniboines rushed into the fort and commenced to plunder the stores. Promptly St. Pierre sized up the situation and as promptly made his resolve, and proceeded to carry it out. Seizing a fire-brand, he rushed to a barrel of gun-powder, and tearing off the top informed them that if they did not immediately leave he would blow them all to places unknown. They might not have understood his words, but felt that he was speaking in a *dead-sure* language, and that his thoughts had taken an elevating turn—and so did theirs—and they did not wait to be elevated, but knowing him to be a man of his word, they fled in terror; and need it be said, hardly had the heels of the last Assiniboine disappeared round the corner, when the gates were securely barred, and kept so until his men returned. Then they hastily gathered their belongings together and abandoned the place. Four days afterwards it was burned to the ground by the Indians.

Légardeur de St. Pierre was succeeded by Chevalier de la Corne, and during the four years of his stay he added one fort to those built by Verandrye and his sons. It was located a few miles below the forks of the Saskatchewan and was named la Corne after himself. It was the last fort built during the French *regime*, for after the fall of Quebec, and the change in the ownership of Canada which resulted, there followed a period of about twenty years during which the fur trade languished and Verandrye's forts fell into ruins.



CHAPTER TWO

1760-1815

Pugnacity Continues Under British Rule

NOTWITHSTANDING the heading of this chapter it must be admitted that the first traders from Montreal acted as if bent on walking in the footsteps of Verandrye. They got the furs, but got them peaceably. Among the first of these was Alexander Henry. His trading, however, was mostly confined to the district around Lake Superior. Another fur trader was Thomas Currie, who in 1767 penetrated as far northwest as Verandrye and his sons had gone; but he made only the one venture. In the year following, James Findlay, taking the same route as the one used by Currie, was equally successful. But of all the Montréal traders of this period the most successful were two Englishmen—the Frobisher brothers, who cleared \$50,000 in one year.

Without reference to the traders just named, it must be admitted that the fur-trading methods employed by both English and Scots under British rule, were no improvement on those in vogue under the French *regime*. Indeed, drink was more freely sold to the Indians, and under its demoralizing influence, murder and robbery became more common. These men had a golden opportunity to grow rich quietly and decently; but they preferred to follow the devices and desires of their own selfish and covetous natures; and they got what was coming to them. Before a terrible epidemic of small pox, every trader in the country had to flee for his life. The disease was contracted by some Crees and Assiniboines who had gone to the Mandan country to purchase horses. With

fearful rapidity it swept northward and westward, and thousands of Indians died. During the years 1781-82 the disease ran its course, nature performed the necessary disinfection and the traders recovered from their scare.

Then fur-trading from the Montreal centre was once more resumed. This occurred in 1783, the year in which the celebrated North-West Company was formed, which from that time until its coalition with the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company thirty-eight years later, was all the time a powerful, and some of the time a most bitter opponent. Not that we are to suppose that at the time of its inception there were any thoughts in the minds of the Nor-Westers of being bitterly hostile to a British fur-trading company whose centre of operations was at the time many hundreds of miles distant. Indeed, remembering how prone are humans to indulge "thoughts which are angels in their birth," whatever kinds they may indulge later; remembering also that this company was formed the same year that Great Britain conceded independence to her American colonies, we may well suppose that there was some connection between the two events. Not likely that the United Empire Loyalist's who moved to Canada after Independence was conceded, did so without a good knowledge of the openings for business which awaited them there. And among such openings, few at that time could be more attractive to enterprising and adventurous souls than those afforded by the fur trade. They could not, however, think of the fur trade and not think of the Hudson's Bay Company. That powerful corporation had now been one hundred and twelve years in existence, and being now relieved of the fear of attack either by the French or the Americans, they might well be expected to throw an energy and determination into their business which would spell disaster to anything less than a well organized corporation which might venture to oppose them. Hence the powerful opposition company.

One remarkable feature in the characters of both these great companies was loyalty to the Mother Land. It was their bond of union. They could both fight for it; but when it came to the settling of the question, who was to get the fur, they fought each other.

The leading spirits in the North-West Company were Simon McTavish and Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher. Something in the personnel of this company (possibly its loyalty), must have touched the susceptibilities of certain Americans, for two men, Peter Pond, and Peter Pangman, came to Montreal expressly to form an opposition company. And they succeeded in doing so, being joined by John Gregory, Alexander McLeod and Roderick McKenzie, noted fur traders who had stood aloof from the North-West Company owing to their dislike of Simon McTavish.

These companies entered into fierce competition, and side by side penetrated far north of the Saskatchewan, where the criminal acts too common to the agents of both, reached an unhappy climax in the murder of John Ross, a trader belonging to the company formed by Pond and Pangman. Pond, who went over to the North-West Company, was regarded as the perpetrator of this dastardly deed, which was looked upon with such horror and loathing by the better men of both companies, that they decided on amalgamation, an event which took place in 1787, four years after the newer organization had come into existence. The trade of the two companies the first year was \$200,000 and twelve years later the year's trade amounted to \$600,000.

The unpopularity of Simon McTavish must have been beneficial to the Hudson's Bay Company, for only two years after the Pond-Pangman combination had been absorbed, this unpopularity of his was responsible for another split in the ranks of the North-West Company. Some of its members seceded and joined the Forsythe-Richardson Company. This happened in 1795; and this trading organization later became known as the XY Company, being so named because they marked their packages XY to distinguish them from the N. W. of the other, the letters XY being selected for no other reason except that in the alphabetical order X follows W, and it can certainly be said that "The Little Company," as the North-Westerners called them, lived up to the order of the alphabet—they *went after the other*.

The enterprising XY Company pushed up the Red and Assiniboine rivers and established a fort at the confluence of the Assiniboine and Souris in 1798. In the following year they were

Pugnacity Continues Under British Rule 17

joined by Sir Alexander McKenzie, and the competition, which was lively enough before, then became decidedly fierce. Few, indeed, were the points in the country reached by the N.W. into which the X.Y. also did not penetrate. Naturally, the North-West Company did not appreciate being used as road makers by their opponents, and lost no opportunity of retaliation. In consequence, hand to hand encounters with fist or club were of frequent occurrence, not wholly to be regretted, because in this way they meted out to each other a little of the punishment that was coming to them for having demoralized the Indians with drink. No wonder if they at length became disgusted with their conduct, and that even Simon-McTavish lost his relish for the fray, and retired; but while in the midst of arrangements which he expected would enable him to spend the rest of his days in peace and comfort, death stepped in and frustrated his plans. He died in 1804.

After his death the North-West and X Y Companies united, and retaining the name of the older of the two, henceforth bore the name of the North-West Company. Thus united it entered into a doubly strong and keen competition for the fur trade of Canada and North-West America, until a repetition of the N.W.-X Y experiences culminated in the greater and final amalgamation—that of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies when, in 1821, the two united under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Perhaps there was something in the fur trade of those days, apart from the killing and skinning of fellow creatures and a carnivorous living, that tendered to engender strife; but allowing that the two companies engaged in the traffic were in the main of a different race and creed, they were after all both British as to leadership, and having half a continent in which to prosecute their business, there was no justifiable reason for flying at each other as they did, and so perpetuating a condition similar to the actual war through which they had recently passed.

Naturally both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Canada favoured the North-West Company, because it more strictly belonged to the country, and did not quite so openly claim

that the country belonged to it. Its employees were mostly French-Canadian or Hybrid French, of whom many were old and experienced voyageurs, trappers and *Coureurs des Bois*. In their palmy days—1812-1814—it has been claimed that their employees numbered five thousand. In the Oregon district alone where they were doing a flourishing business, and where their principal competitor was Jacob Astor, the American fur monopolist, they had over three hundred men, and their trade extended as far north as New Archangel. The Hudson's Bay Company, notwithstanding Imperial patronage and their famous charter, were inferior to them both in volume of trade and amount of capital. This came out very strikingly at the time of amalgamation when, in order that the two companies might contribute an equal amount of stock to the new company it was necessary for the Hudson's Bay Company to increase theirs from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 so as to bring it up to the level of the working capital of the North-West Company at that time.

The foregoing facts are given at this stage to account in some measure for the colossal assurance with which each of the competing companies asserted the superiority of its claim, and also to give an idea of its ability to hold its own by physical force.

After its accessions of strength by the absorption of at least two competing companies, one need not wonder if the Nor'-Westers dared to forecast the absorption or annihilation of the Hudson's Bay Company itself.

The first inland distributing point of the Nor'-Westers was Grand Rapids; but a change was very soon made in favour of Fort William, so called after the officer in charge, Mr. McGillivray, whose given name was William.

It was not till 1806 that the North-West Company took a stand on the banks of the Red River; and in that year they built a fort at "The Forks" near the site of Verandrye's tiny Fort Rouge; and as if to show all comers that they regarded their position as impregnable they named it Fort Gibraltar. What a contrast to the structure built there sixty-eight years previously by that peaceably disposed war veteran, Verandrye. Among the other forts of the North-West Company there was one up the

Assiniboine near the mouth of the Souris River, and another at Qu'Appelle. Further northward they built a fort at Cumberland, another at Ile a la Croise, and still another at Lake Athabasca.

In the meantime the Hudson's Bay Company remained in undisputed possession of the country around Hudson Bay; but from there penetrated inland with all the celerity which the modes of travel would permit in order to confront their opponents with their charter and by a forceful exposition of that document convince them that the Hudson's Bay Company alone could lawfully engage in the fur trade of North-West America.

It may be mentioned that in the matter of priority of occupation at "The Forks," that honour does not go to the North West Company, but to the Hudson's Bay Company, whose surveyor, Fidler, built a fort there which was named after him, Fidler. It was built in 1799, seven years ahead of Fort Gibraltar. In the year 1793 another Hudson's Bay officer, Donald McLeod, built a fort at the mouth of the Souris fifteen miles down-stream from where now stands the city of Brandon. This fort was usually spoken of in its day as Brandon House. Besides these the Hudson's Bay Company had another fort at Rainy Lake, another at Red Lake and another at Winnipeg Lake near where now stands Fort Alexander. On the Saskatchewan they had Forts Cumberland, Carlton and Edmonton; and two others on the Assiniboine, one where Fort Pelly now stands, and one at Portage la Prairie, near the site of Fort de la Reine.

Among the advantages enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company over their opponents, was the no mean one of standing higher in the estimation of the Indians, for poor Lo, if not very clever, could tell which company was more strictly honest and reliable. He might not bother his head about the meaning of *pro pelle cutem*, but he could tell when he was getting it, and he might not know A B C, but he knew H. B. C., and had found it to be synonymous with honesty.

It has always been a difficult matter for any corporation, and for that matter any individual, to live up to the title of honourable, and the greater the power the greater the difficulty. And considering the latitude allowed the Hudson's Bay Company by

their charter, to do very much as they pleased in this northern part of the continent; and considering the means used by the North-West Company and others to prevent it from doing so, it must be admitted that, *on the whole*, they lived up to their title of honourable, in a manner highly creditable to themselves, and favourable to the six or seven generations of Whites and Indians who lived under their regime.

One of the many things laid to its charge is, that it systematically misrepresented the country as to its suitableness for agriculture. As to that the readers are reminded that it did not pretend to know much about farming; but that it did make some honest attempts at cultivating the art, and that it gave the country an even better opportunity than that of speaking for itself, when it permitted Lord Selkirk to land a party of fellow Scotsmen on the banks of the Red River, to produce from the soil not only a livelihood for themselves, but a surplus which would be helpful in the fur trade.

During the first decade or so after the introduction of farming into the Red River country, it must be admitted that from time to time there were experiences of summer frost which corroborated what had been said by some Hudson's Bay officials. The following is an authentic record of one such experience:

"On the 8th June, 1836, a severe frost killed most of the barley and cut down the wheat, and on August 19th of the same season a very heavy frost so injured the wheat that it was not even fit for seed." After facts such as these don't blame the Hudson's Bay officials for not having acted as enthusiastic immigration agents. They told what they knew and their representations were less harmful than the statements made by many interested parties, who, since then, have brought down curses upon this country, and, more deservedly, upon their own heads, by representing Canada as "a land of corn and wine with milk and honey blest." The metaphors are all right, but naturally are increasingly metaphorical as one gets nearer the north pole.

LORD SELKIRK

There are very few episodes in the history of this country more interesting than Lord Selkirk's colonization scheme, coupled with



VEN. ARCHDEACON COCHRANE

Among a number of interesting articles on the early churches of Manitoba which appeared in the *Winnipeg Tribune* from the pen of Miss Carolyn Cornell, was one giving the history of St. Andrew's Church; and beside a sketch of the Church was one of the builder himself, the Ven. Archdeacon Cochrane; and as a picture of him had never been seen before, the able writer of the article rightly decided at the time on furnishing the public with the following explanation:—

"The drawing of Ven. Archdeacon Cochrane was done by E. P. Gibson, *The Tribune* artist, from photographs of relatives and descriptions of the Archdeacon by persons who remember him. Its remarkable fidelity to life has been commented on by His Grace Archbishop Matheson, Rev. A. C. Garrioch and Mrs. W. H. Gardner, granddaughter of Archdeacon Cochrane.

"Mrs. Peter Henderson, of Portage la Prairie, who lived in the home of the Archdeacon for the last four years of his life, when she saw the drawing, said: 'It is the Archdeacon, but how can it be when he never had a picture taken?' William H. Garrioch, another old parishioner, without a second's hesitation, said: 'It is the Archdeacon.'"

its endorsation by the Hudson's Bay Company. And it being so much easier at this distance of time to appraise correctly the rancour and prejudice to which his undertakings were exposed in his own day and for a considerable time afterwards, a brief account of his exploits in Rupert's Land should be worth my while to write and yours to read.

Lord Selkirk was born in 1771, one hundred and one years after the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was the youngest of seven brothers, and it is remarkable that by the year 1799, when he was only twenty-eight years of age, not only had all his brothers died, but his father as well, leaving him heir to a large fortune, and the title of Earl of Selkirk.

After passing successfully through the University of Edinburgh, we may safely assume that he would soon be confronted with the question as to the use that he would make of his rank; his education and his fortune; and we rightly look for his answer in his actions; and to the writer those actions declare in no ambiguous terms: These are talents committed to me to be employed for the benefit of others besides myself; and so I shall give a hand to those less fortunate than myself by sharing with them my opportunities for usefulness. And this shall be done in such a manner that it shall add to the honour of the British Empire.

It would show partiality to assert that Lord Selkirk never had a thought of personal aggrandizement, while it would show no more than reasonable fair-mindedness to assert that if he had any such thoughts it did not exert a controlling influence upon his actions. He was a human being; but vastly more unselfish than the average. He was a philanthropist. Some of his contemporaries said that he was one hundred years ahead of his time. Perhaps they were that far behind theirs. Among his contemporaries who were also his friends may be mentioned Sir Walter Scott and Robbie Burns.

About the time of Lord Selkirk's elevation to the peerage, there occurred the disruption of the clan system in Scotland. Before this the land occupied by a clan was vested in all its members; but now, according to a new enactment, it was vested

in the head of a clan only. According to the old arrangement they could occupy the land as long as they pleased, and it had pleased them to do so from generation to generation; but now they were placed in the position of ordinary tenants, and the head of the clan could change his tenants as any ordinary landlord might do. Some of these chieftains sent their sons south to be educated, and when they succeeded to the control of the estate they did so with changed if not improved social and business ideas. Some of them found it to their advantage to lease to capitalists the land which was occupied by the Crofters; and these small holdings were joined together so as to make an extensive sheep-run for the rich man, while the poor Crofter was turned adrift as if he were not "better than a sheep."

The condition of these evicted clansmen so appealed to the kindly heart of the Earl of Selkirk that he travelled through the Highlands so as to learn from actual observation the true condition of the evicted. He also made a journey to France to find out if there were any effective measures being used there to bring about a recovery from the evils of the recent revolution. And if any further proof be needed to prove that Lord Selkirk loved his unfortunate fellow-countrymen, it need only be stated that for their sakes *he learned the Gaelic language* in order that when they poured out the stories of their woes he might be the better able to show that he understood.

It is strange that the British Government and the British people should have been so indifferent about emigration that there should have been required more than all Lord Selkirk's powers of persuasion to convince them that therein lay the true solution of the Crofter trouble. Perhaps the recent evolution or devolution of the British colonies into the United States of America was so keenly felt that a further lapse of time was needed before further colonization schemes would be in favour. It is, however, very likely that had the British Government acceded to Lord Selkirk's wishes, and made the colonization of Rupert's Land a national undertaking, he never would have made it a personal one, or have owned any Hudson's Bay stock, or had anything to do with the fur trade.

Let it be noted that from the very first it was Lord Selkirk's intention that the emigrants who left Scotland under contract with him should be located in some part of Rupert's Land. Accordingly, in the year 1803, he assembled eight hundred colonists in the Isle of Skye. The Government, however, turned down his scheme as to place of settlement, so he bought land for them in Prince Edward Island, and personally saw to their being comfortably settled there.

In the year 1804 he took out another party of one hundred and eleven, who were landed at Montreal, whence they were sent by bateaux to Kingston, and finally located in Kent County, Ontario. Before returning to England on this occasion, he rested for a while at Montreal and was feted by many of the leading merchants. On one occasion he was the honoured guest of the club of the North-West Company, when the honours were done in style by Simon McTavish, who was called the lion of Montreal.

Little did his entertainers suppose that he would one day be the largest shareholder in the great company competing with them in the northwest; and it is hardly likely that Lord Selkirk himself had any notion of such a thing at this date, as it was not until seven years later, and then only in connection with his colonization work, that he became connected with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Upon his return in 1805, he resumed his investigation of the situation among the evicted Highlanders, and for the enlightenment of the public gave his findings in a book which was published the same year. This book was praised by Sir Walter Scott for its precision and accuracy.

In 1806 he was chosen as one of the sixteen Scottish peers to represent Scotland in the House of Lords. In this position he continued ably to set forth his views, maintaining that it was in the interest of the nation to encourage emigration to its overseas dominions, particularly North-west America; and that it was no more than humane that those who could not be provided with a home in the homeland, should be encouraged to seek one in some other part of the Empire. The following phrases are to be found in his speeches: "Now it is our duty to befriend these people. . . . Let us direct their emigration, and let them be led abroad to new

possessions. . . . Give them homes under our own flag. . . . and they will strengthen our nation."

Lord Selkirk no doubt, used his tongue and his pen to good account when he succeeded in convincing the British Government of the soundness of his emigration policy, and in persuading the Government he went a long way towards persuading the Hudson's Bay Company as well, because of the bond of union—the community of interests existing between the two, in that the latter was the protegee of the former, a fact to which it owed its prestige, and for which it made pleasing acknowledgment in unswerving devotion to its guardian. And to join the Hudson's Bay Company as he did in order that he and his favored project might be under the same auspices as the Company itself was unquestionably a wise thing to do.

At this time the Company had been carrying on its business for several years at a loss. Its stock had therefore depreciated so seriously that Lord Selkirk was enabled to acquire one third of its entire capital for the sum of £35,000. Before, however, making this investment, he had the validity of the Hudson's Bay charter thoroughly investigated, for which purpose he consulted five leading English lawyers. Their decision was that it was flawless; and further that it invested them with the right to give legal title to others to tracts of land lying within their territories. It was only after this that Lord Selkirk and his friends made the investment just mentioned.

Lord Selkirk's next move was to secure from the Hudson's Bay Company, sixteen thousand square miles of land situated on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and to make sure that his proteges would this time be in possession of land from which they could not be evicted; he was careful to have the deed of transfer carefully executed. It was dated June 13, 1811, and had the seal of the Company, and was signed by their secretary, Alexander Lane. The land thus secured to Lord Selkirk may not have cost him much at first, but it cost him quite enough by the time he got through. Probably the Company took this view of the matter, and that the price allowed for it materially helped making up the total of £85,000, the sum the Company paid to the heirs of Lord Selkirk in 1834-1835 in full of all demands.

After Lord Selkirk had procured land for his colonists, his next move was to procure colonists for his land. To this end he issued a prospectus and employed three recruiting agents, viz, Miles MacDonell, who recruited in Ireland, and Colin Robertson and Roderick McDonald who recruited in Scotland. As a result of their efforts one hundred and twenty-five emigrants accepted Lord Selkirk's offer, and when the three ships, *Prince of Wales*, *Eddystone* and *Edward and Ann* left Stornoway, July 26, 1811, one hundred and five of these were on board, the other twenty having been induced to go back on their word by agents of the North-West Company and others. Lord Selkirk gave Mr. Miles MacDonell charge of these colonists, and appointed him first Governor of Assiniboia. They reached York Factory September 24, 1811, and wintered there. In the following summer they proceeded on their journey in four flat boats, and reached their destination on the Red River August 30, 1812, and located on the western part of Point Douglas. Later they were sent on to Pembina, as buffalo were usually easy of access from that point. After their departure from the Red River another party arrived, consisting of eighteen Irishmen, who were in the care of Owen, Kavény. These also were sent on to winter at Pembina. A fort was built there for the accommodation of the colonists which was named Fort Daer.

In the summer of 1813 the colonists suffered greatly for lack of food, and had to help eke out an existence by eating berries and roots. Of the latter, the wild turnip, called in Cree, *mis-koos-tus-i-min*, was much the most serviceable. This root is smaller than a parsnip, but resembles it in shape, colour and fibre. It can be eaten raw, but the Indians often boiled it with meat, no doubt because it so readily took on a meaty flavour. It is certainly superior to a potato for absorbing a flavour in the boiling process. And it may be remembered that when Sir Walter Raleigh was introducing potatoes to the British public, he wrote: "To give them the greater relish in eating they should be boiled with the juice of prunes." Probably the hunger of the poor ex-crofters would have supplied "the greater relish" even had they eaten them raw, as when they ate their miskoostusimina.

Another party were sent out from Scotland in 1813. It numbered ninety-seven. These wintered at Fort Churchill; but in the month of April, 1814, forty-one of them, of whom half were women, went forward to the settlement. They arrived there in time to plant forty bushels of potatoes, which were doing well by the time the rest of the party arrived from Churchill.

There were now two hundred and twenty colonists in the country. They had come out contrary to the wishes and advice of the North-West Company it is true; but considering their hopeless plight in the old land; which, so far, was little changed in the new, one might have expected that the leaders of the North-West Company would have had sufficient chivalry at least to have left them in peace, if they could not rise to the level of giving them a welcome and treating them with kindness. But instead of doing anything so kind and manly, they persisted in a cruel policy of obstruction. So while one company was doing its best to feed them, the other was doing its worst to starve them.

When Lord Selkirk consulted some legal luminaries as to the validity of the Hudson's Bay Charter the opinion obtained was most satisfactory; but when, in the arena of strife his deputy, Governour Miles MacDonell, tried it out on the Warden of the Plains and his Metis following it showed up "not so good." The first Governour of Assiniboia certainly submitted the Charter to a severe test, when he issued an order that no provisions were to be taken out of the country except what was needed for carrying on the fur trade. And if the Nor-Westers did not have the clarity of vision to perceive what this meant to them, no doubt they understood in the light of Governour MacDonell's next move, which was this: He sent his secretary, John Spencer, up the Assiniboine to the Souris Fort, and there by way of neutralizing the starving-out policy of the Nor-Westers, he seized six hundred bags of pemmican, besides a lot of dried meat and grease, removing the same to the Hudson's Bay Fort, Brandon House.

As may well be supposed after this act, the opposition of the Nor-Westers became more bitter than ever; and the winter of 1814-15 was passed in secret or undisguised acts of hostility by both parties. Among immediate and regrettable consequences of

this strife it may be mentioned that a Mr. Warren was killed through the bursting of a blunderbus or gun of some kind in an attack upon Fort Douglas.

Duncan Cameron who was in charge of Fort Douglas was an astute Scotsman, and by professing great sympathy for the colonists, and criticizing Lord Selkirk's methods and throwing suspicion on his motives; also by offering them more comfortable homes in Ontario, he so weakened the influence of Miles Macdonnell that his position as Governour became untenable. And knowing that the consequences of persisting in holding the office would be only to involve the colonists in still greater sufferings, knowing also that Cameron had shown the disaffected colonists a magistrate's warrant for his arrest, telling them that they would be left in peace if he succeeded in his capture, he decided that for their sakes it was better to let Cameron have his way. Accordingly, he quietly submitted to arrest, whereupon he was at once sent to Montreal for trial. However, he was never tried, because it was contended that the good faith and authority under which he had acted was his justification.

With Miles Macdonnell out of the way, Duncan Cameron appeared in his true colours. Before this he had sometimes come out in a scarlet uniform or some other showy costume—sometimes in kilts—a treat, no doubt, to Highlanders and mosquitoes. Now he wore proper clothes and talked business. The offer with which he had tempted them during winter, and which two-thirds of them had accepted, was this: Payment of wages which might be due either by Lord Selkirk or the Hudson's Bay Company, and assistance to obtain land. Duncan Cameron lived up to his promises, and the one hundred and thirty-four colonists who had accepted his offer had to live up to theirs. Under his leadership they embarked June, 1815, and journeying via Lake Superior and Georgian Bay, arrived at Holland Landing in September. There they obtained land in the vicinity of Newmarket, and many of their descendants are to be found there still.

By this exodus of colonists the number remaining on the banks of the Red River was reduced to forty; and the pick of souls they must have been, thus to place honour before every other consideration and to further brave the terrors of Nor-West enmity.

Duncan Cameron's place during his absence was filled by his colleague, Alexander McDonell, who knowing that neither flattery nor bribery would succeed with the remaining colonists, lost no time in giving them their marching orders, informing them verbally and by written notice that they were to rid the country of their presence, going when and how they pleased, only going quickly.

Instead of their forlorn condition and honest purpose appealing to the Nor-Westers and their ignorant tools the *Bois Brûlés*, they were treated as so many escaped convicts, whose only choice was between death and surrender. Their goods were stolen; and in general, the hand of these neighbours was never extended in their direction, except in perpetration of deeds of this dastardly character.

Finding that even by such tactics they could not quickly enough accomplish their purpose, they decided on openly raiding the settlement. Fortunately the colonists got word of this, and while the necessary force of *Bois Brûlés* was being recruited, they placed themselves under the leadership of John McLeod, a veteran Hudson's Bay official. Then though they had not pledged their word to fight in furtherance of Lord Selkirk's plans, they acted as if they had. And they fought as good men will, and as Highlanders do, when it comes to a case of saying "the gude wife and the bairns."

The *Bois Brûlés* were mounted and armed with muskets and out-numbered the colonists and Hudson's Bay party two to one. They were under the leadership of Alexander McDonell and Cuthbert Grant. Archibald Norman McLeod, who wrote a description of the battle royal, states that one man on their side was killed, and all but thirteen wounded. At one time it looked as if they were going to be overwhelmed, and then it was that John McLeod with the resourcefulness of the true general bethought him of a rusty old cannon which was laid away in the fort, and it was requisitioned now notwithstanding the general opinion that when it was discharged it would be as great a menace to the safety of the man behind the gun as to those at whom it might be aimed. However, realizing that their desperate situation called

for a desperate remedy, the gun was hastily hauled out, and a lot of cart chains were converted into chain-shot, and the ancient piece of ordnance was loaded to full capacity and pointed in the direction of the enemy, who with their savage Indian war-whoop and an occasional spurt forward appeared to be waiting the psychological moment when they could pounce upon and capture their prey. Once more they are coming; once more the air is filled with their savage yells, when suddenly, as if the earth had opened her mouth and vomited a thunder-bolt accompanied with a chain of lightning, there came fiendishly screaming, the curtailed cart chains, and the leaves and branches behind which they had concealed themselves flew hither and thither. The rusty cannon had spoken, and horses and riders as if by mutual consent lost no time in looking for safer quarters; and an occasional reminder from the brave little cannon kept them there, until at length convinced of its powers of execution they abandoned their siege.

This gave the harassed colonists a breathing spell which they turned to good account by preparing to abandon their homes. Fortunately they had boats enough to hold both the colonists and Hudson's Bay employees, and their most necessary belongings as well. So they hastily embarked with their wounded friends, and floating down the Red River, skirted the south-eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg, still they reached Jack River near Norway House, where they awaited further developments.

No sooner had they left the settlement than the Bois Brules commenced to destroy their houses, and generally to pull to pieces what they had put together with so much thrift, courage and perseverance. But there was one nut which they found too hard to crack, and that was Fort Douglas, for the heroic John McLeod and three sturdy companions, with the aid of the rusty and trusty four-pounder, continued to hold the fort against all odds. The three men were John McIntosh and Archibald Currie of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Hugh McLean, who was at this time the sole representative of Lord Selkirk's colonists, remaining on the banks of the Red River. Day and night this brave little garrison kept watch from their stronghold, and whenever the enemy approached, the little cannon spoke once more, and again

the deadly cart chains flew screaming through the air. At length the Nor-Westers seemed to have some premonition of an impending change. Very likely they had received secret intelligence from Fort William; and, at any rate, the besieged were left in undisturbed possession of their fort and were able to walk forth and study the scene of desolation, and to bestow some attention on the little gardens and fields whose owners had regretfully abandoned them, expecting never to return.

Fortunately, Mr. McLeod was more optimistic, and not only attended to the growing crops, but set about repairing the houses wherever it could be done. Meanwhile Lord Selkirk was not idle; for while the interference of Duncan Cameron was depriving his colony of one hundred and thirty-four settlers, he had succeeded in securing another party of ninety, made up, it is said, of emigrants who were an improvement on previous importations.

Anticipating further trouble when they arrived in the settlement, he took the precaution of sending Colin Robertson with twenty Canadians *via* the eastern route, and they arrived shortly after the Nor-Westers had left John McLeod in peaceable possession of Fort Douglas. When Mr. Robertson arrived at Fort Douglas and found the colonists gone, he immediately turned about to fetch them back; and arriving at Jack River he not only found the colonists who had fled, but there he also met the third party, who were just arriving. The number of colonists in the country was now one hundred and fifty, and on their arrival at Fort Douglas Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company were once more in the ascendency there.

Robert Semple, a retired British officer holding the rank of captain, came out in charge of the party of ninety colonists, and also in the capacity of Governour of Assiniboia, as successor to Miles MacDonell. Colin Robertson, his subordinate officer, was a previous employee of the North-West Company, and had Governour Semple retained him by his side, so as to be aided by his experience and advice, it might have been better for himself and the country. For while Robertson could be as prompt in action as Semple himself, he was also diplomatic, an opinion which no doubt, Duncan of the kilts and Gaelic fame would have fully

endorsed; for as soon as this gentleman had returned to Canada after his successful deportation of colonists, and before he could get into diplomatic relations with the last importation, Mr. Robertson pounced upon him and made him prisoner. But, past master in diplomacy as he was, he was soon at liberty again, and probably on his own recognizance.



CHAPTER THREE

1816-1820

A Chapter of Tragedies

THE seed planted by the colonists in 1815 did well, and fifteen hundred bushels were threshed in the autumn. However, as a part of this would be needed for seed, it was necessary for them to winter at Pembina again; and that turned out to be even harder than was expected owing to the buffalo being further away than formerly.

While the settlers were undergoing great sufferings at Pembina both from cold and hunger, the agents of the two companies were striving one against the other more bitterly than ever. From the two following extracts it would seem that the Nor-Westers were prepared to go to great lengths, not stopping short of bloodshed, if the colonists could not be got rid of in any other way.

In March, 1816, Alexander McDonell wrote to Duncan Cameron from Fort Qu'Appelle: "A storm is gathering in the north, ready to burst on the rascals who deserve it. Little do they know their situation. Last year was but a joke. The new nation are coming forward to their native soil to expel the intruders and assassins." And Cuthbert Grant wrote: "The Half-breeds at Fort de Prairie and the English River are to be here in the spring. . . . It is to be hoped we shall come off with flying colours."

The policy which has been tried and proved a failure, is always liable to suffer by comparison with one which has not been tried, and it is partly because Governour Semple's policy was tried and

did not succeed, that several of his public actions are so generally condemned as showing that however honourable and courageous he may have been he was fatally lacking in prudence. And yet, who can say: for what seemed a very prudent act—the arrest and deportation of Duncan Cameron—turned out as badly as the rest: partly, it may be, because in order that he might rid the country of Duncan Cameron, he had to deprive himself of the services of his principal lieutenant, Colin Robertson, to whom he deputed the responsibility of taking the former to England for trial. Yet if one says—as the writer feels inclined to say—how much better it would have been for the country if this experienced, ex-Nor-Wester had been with Governour Semple at this critical juncture! After all, it is only a guess, for we know not that the Governour would have acted on his advice any more than he did when he endeavoured to dissuade him for pulling down Fort Gibraltar, telling him that it was sure to be followed by acts of reprisal. And as to the mischief that Duncan Cameron might have done had he been allowed to stay in the country, it is simply another guess. But there is not much guesswork about it when we come to deal with the injury he did Lord Selkirk's cause by being sent out of the country. For when he was tried in London, he was acquitted, it being claimed that he could not be accused of having committed any crime. But that was not the worst; his temper, never one of the best, did not improve during his imprisonment of over a year, and he brought an action against Lord Selkirk for illegal detention, and the court awarded him £3,000. I wonder if the historian Gunn would have us infer that Cameron's temper was thereby permanently sweetened when he dismissed him with the remark: "He died in peace."

Mention has already been made of the seizure of a large supply of provisions in store at the Nor'-Wester's Souris Fort, by order of Governour Miles MacDonell in the year 1813. And now in the year 1816 an equally serious blow was dealt their business in the destruction of Fort Gibraltar. The colonists and Hudson's Bay people had therefore very good reasons for anticipating some serious acts of reprisal. And they were not kept long waiting for the first retaliatory move. It came with the opening of navigation in the last-named year, when the Nor'-Westers seized the year's

returns of furs and provisions on the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine Rivers. Their first haul was made at the Qu'Appelle. Five flat boats were being floated downstream with twenty-two bales of furs and six hundred bags of pemmican. James Bird was in charge, and with him were Mr. Pembrun and John Bird, Junior. On May 12th they were attacked by an armed party of forty-nine Bois Brules, under the leadership of Cuthbert Grant and Peter Pangman. All the furs and pemmican were seized, and Messrs. Pembrun and Bird taken prisoners. A Mr. Sutherland was allowed to proceed to the Red River Settlement in one of the boats, minus the cargo. Alexander McDonell took charge of the captured brigade, and continued the journey downstream. Arriving at Brandon House he plundered it of everything of value. The next stopping place was Portage la Prairie, where they arrived on June 16th.

Their party now numbered one hundred and twenty, some of whom were servants of the North-West Company, while others were Bois Brules, hired expressly for the occasion, and coming from various parts of the country where they lived much as the thorough-bred savages, and to whom they were superior chiefly in being able to speak both Cree and French, instead of Cree only; and from whom they were distinguishable chiefly by their clearer skin and heavier build; but from whom they differed not a whit in the easy, graceful step of the moccasin-raised man or woman while in the matter of undressiness, though the Frenchman did not quite equal his red brother, yet on special occasions there were some who were wont to adapt themselves to the unsophisticated tastes of the Indian, and to appear in a scantiness of broadcloth which left the narrowest margin possible on the side of decency.

Arriving at Portage la Prairie, Alexander McDonell firmly secured his boats to the bank of the Assiniboine, on or about the site of Fort de la Reine, now marked by a cairn. There he hastily fortified his position with bags of pemmican, having good reason to expect a visit from the Hudson's Bay people, intent on recovering their property.

When treated with proper consideration, the typical French Half-breed, even if uneducated, is easily directed and becomes a pleasant and faithful companion; but if treated in an overbearing

manner, and encouraged to give himself the rein, especially when under the influence of drink, he is liable to become a little worse than other human beings under like circumstances—he is liable to become inhuman. Wonder not then if a fur-trading company largely dependent on this class of help, having its temper aroused by strenuous opposition, found here the material which could be used in the furtherance of some plan only too obviously one of revenge.

According to a plan laid down at Fort William, the Nor'-Westers who were to be sent from there, and those who were to come down the Assiniboine, were to meet on the Red River on the 20th June, but on account of the destruction of Fort Gibraltar, Alexander McDonell decided to stay at Portage la Prairie in charge of his valuable accumulation of furs and provisions, while he sent half of his men to meet the party from Fort William at the appointed rendezvous. This party from Portage la Prairie was under the charge of Mr. Guthbert Grant and consisted of sixty men who were mounted and armed. There were also two or three Indians. It was claimed that their instructions were to avoid a meeting with the Hudson's Bay people or colonists, and, with this object in view, they were to leave the regular route when in the vicinity of Fort Douglas, and to circle far to the north so as not to be observed. It was on June 19, 1816 that this fateful journey was made from Portage la Prairie to Frog Plain. Unfortunately their arrival was observed, and when reported to Governour Semple he said: "We must go out and see these people." Accordingly he left the fort accompanied by twenty-eight men, some of whom were mere lads, as he had with his characteristic kindness insisted that the married men should remain in the fort with their families. The only man in the party led by Governour Semple who was not a Hudson's Bay Company employee was a Mr. McLean. He was a Lord Selkirk colonist, and had a wife and three children, and he was among those who fell at Seven Oaks.

Governour Semple and his party were afoot, and when they met the French Half-breeds at Seven Oaks there followed what some have called a fight, but others, perhaps more correctly, a massacre. Fortunately we have a reliable account of the event itself from the pen of Mr. John Pritchard, who made some history

in this country, and is doing so still through his descendants. This gentleman was an eye witness of the battle or carnage, and his description of it has a fine savour of candour, for instance when he states that he was asked by a Half-breed, "What are you doing here, *petit chien?*" (You little dog.) No doubt this Half-breed would at least have dispensed with the disrespectful epithet had he known he was addressing the grandfather of the future primate of Canada; but being only conversant with the past, and having known Mr. Pritchard in the west as an officer of the North-West Company, he felt so elated over the renewal of their acquaintances under the changed circumstances that he dared to classify him as a diminutive specimen of the canine race.

When Governour Semple and his companions had proceeded a short distance, they met a number of colonists running towards the fort and shouting, "The Half-breeds! The Half-breeds!" Proceeding a little further, Governour Semple halted his party, and a message was sent back to the fort for a cannon and as many men as could be spared. These not arriving quickly, he gave the order to advance; and as they went forward the Nor'-Westers suddenly appeared from behind some bushes, and quickly bearing down upon them, divided, and partly surrounded them in the form of a half moon. They were now close enough to notice that the Half-breeds were painted and disguised so as to appear as hideous as possible, and in further pursuance of their Indian tactics, they gave out a fierce war-whoop, and made other hideous noises.

A Half-breed by the name of Boucher now advanced towards Governour Semple calling out, "What do you want? What do you want?" Governour Semple answered, "What do you want?"; to which Boucher replied, "We want our fort," and Governour Semple said, "Well, go to your fort." Boucher answered insultingly, and Governour Semple was seen to put his hand on Boucher's gun. Then a single shot rang out. Some suppose that it was the accidental discharge of a gun in the hands of Lieutenant Holt. Others say that it was from the ranks of the Half-breeds. Then firing became general; and it is believed that at the first volley from the Bois Brules, most of Semple's party were either killed or wounded.

One man killed, and one man wounded was the loss on the side of the attackers, while on the side of the attacked there were twenty-one killed and one wounded. In other words, only seven of the party who emerged from the gate of Fort Douglas lived to re-enter it, those few having saved themselves by flight. All who lay wounded were not only put to death, but their bodies were subjected to barbarous abuse and mutilation.

As the few who escaped death, were being pursued in the direction of the fort, they were met by Mr. Burke coming along with the cannon, who, by opening fire on the pursuers, enabled the pursued to reach the fort in safety. In rendering this service to his friends Mr. Burke did not escape unscathed, for he was hit in the leg with a ball, from the effects of which he suffered at times for the rest of his life.

When Semple and his party left Fort Douglas, most of the colonists were at their own places, and we are left to wonder how it was that by nightfall they were all housed after a fashion within the fort-enclosure. But at that, the night following such a calamity must have been an extremely anxious one to the colonists, for from what had occurred they had good reason to believe that the *Bois Brules* were bent on their extermination, nor had the Hudson's Bay servants any reason to suppose that there would be any discrimination in their favour.

By the death of Governour Semple, Sheriff Alexander MacDonald became officer in command; and it required no arguments from him to convince his little mixed garrison of the seriousness of the situation, and to persuade them of the necessity of standing by one another as a solid unit, so as to defend themselves to the full extent of their power, and the best possible advantage.

The Nor'-Westers spent the night at Frog Plain. There Mr. Pritchard was held prisoner, and his life was again threatened.

It is fortunate that Cuthbert Grant proved amenable to reason, and had sufficient influence with his fellow-countrymen to hold them in check while negotiations were being entered into between Mr. Pritchard, Mr. MacDonald and himself respecting

the occupants of Fort Douglas. After the atrocities of the previous day Mr. MacDonald was naturally backward about risking the lives of the women and children under his care, by allowing the Nor'-Westers to enter the fort under any circumstances; and those comprising his little garrison took the same view of the matter. He therefore accompanied Mr. Pritchard to Frog Plain, that he might judge for himself from what he saw and heard how it would be best to act. There he became convinced that the assurance of Mr. Grant could be relied upon, that if the fort and everything within it excepting personal property was surrendered, the colonists would be allowed to leave in peace.

Accordingly, on the following day Mr. Grant with his followers approached the fort, and was met by Mr. MacDonald with a flag of truce. The fort was then entered and the goods of the Hudson's Bay Company seized. But a proper inventory was taken, each sheet of which was signed, "Cuthbert Grant, acting for the North-West Company."

After having thus completely crushed any opposition which may have been in the power of the colonists to offer, they were given three days in which to pack up and be off. And for this purpose they were allowed all the boats they needed, and enough provisions to last until they had gotten themselves afar off. As soon as the time and manner of their departure was settled, permission was asked of Mr. Grant for the interment of the remains of Governour Semple and of the others who had fallen. This was readily given, as well as the promise of non-molestation while it was being done. Then when embarkation was taking place, Mr. Grant, no doubt using the better men of his following, placed one of them in each of the boats, while he and a number of others rode abreast as a precaution against an attack from some of the more vindictive Metis.

On the day after their departure, they were met by the Nor'-Westers who were arriving from Fort William. They were stopped and their baggage examined, not exempting that of the late Governour. And papers which it was thought might be of importance in the way of evidence were seized after which they were lavish with advice to the fugitives to abandon Lord Selkirk's

forlorn hope, and to follow the example of their compatriots who had accepted the good offices of Duncan Cameron and found themselves safe and comfortable homes in Canada. Then the pilgrims were allowed to continue their journey, and once more they left the land of their adoption which had been so plentifully moistened with their tears and their blood, and they skirted the eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg until they reached that haven of refuge, Jack River.

When messengers arrived at Portage la Prairie and told Alexander McDonell what had happened, he became quite hilarious and when the whole ghastly story had been told, he led the crowd in loud and repeated cheering. There is no record of any words of regret having been uttered by the Half-breeds or their leaders, either at Portage la Prairie or Point Douglas.

The historian Ross informs us that of the sixty men who took part in this massacre, a majority of them came to violent deaths. And here I transcribe in full his account of how twenty-six of these severally came to a violent end.

1. "The first person in our melancholy catalogue was a man named Dechamp, who in crossing the river near to his house at Pembina, suddenly dropped down dead on the ice; the dog he had along with him shared the same fate at the same instant, without any previous illness or warning of his end.

2. "Francois Dechamp, son of the above Dechamp, was stabbed to death by his own comrade, his wife shot, and his children burned to death, all at the same time, near Fort Union, Missouri River.

3. "La Grosse Tate, brother of Francois Dechamp, was shot by an Indian between the pickets of a trading post in the Missouri. These three individuals belonged to the same family.

4. "Centonahais suddenly dropped down dead while dancing with a party of his comrades, at the Grand Forks beyond Pembina.

5. "Battosh, shot dead by an unknown hand, in Red River.

6. "Lavigne, drowned in crossing Red River near Nettly Creek.

7. "Fraser, run through the body at Paris by a French officer and killed.

8. "Baptiste Moralle, in a drunken squabble on the Missouri, thrown into fire and burnt by his drunken companions.

9. "La Certe, died drunk on the highroad on the Mississippi River.

10. "Joseph Tuttier, wounded by a gun and disabled for life in Red River.

11. "J. Baptiste Latour, died a miserable death by infection.

12. "Duplicis by a wooden fork running through his body in the act of jumping from a hay stack at Carlton on the Saskatchewan River.

13. "J. Baptiste Parisien, shot dead by an unknown hand when in the act of running buffalo in the Pembina plains.

14. "Toussaint Voudre, lost an arm by accident, and disabled for life in Red River.

15. "Francois Gardupie, the brave, shot and scalped in a sudden recontre with the Sioux Indians on the banks of the Missouri, in sight of his comrades.

16. "Bourrassin, killed on the Saskatchewan, particulars not known.

17. "Louison Valle, put to death by a party of Sioux Indians in the Pembina plains, and in sight of his companions.

18. "Ignace McKay, found dead on the public road, White Horse Plains, Red River.

19. "Michael Martin, died a miserable death, Montreal, Lower Canada.

20. "Thomas McKay, died of intemperance, Columbia River.

21. "Ka-tee-tea-goosé, an Indian said to be the person who fired the first shot. This savage on returning to his family after the massacre, was met by a war party of the Grossé Ventre, or Big Belly tribe, near Brandon House, who after shooting and

scalping him, cut his body to pieces, carried off his fingers and toes, and strewed the rest of his remains to the wild beasts, to mark the place where he fell.

22. "Chanecastan, another Indian, drowned in a small pool of water scarcely two feet deep near the little Missouri River, Brandon House.

23. "Okematan, an Indian, frozen to death on the Pembina plains.

24. "Ne-de-goose-o-jeb-wan, gored to death by a buffalo bull while in the act of hunting.

25. "Pe-me-can-toss, shot and thrown into a hole by his own people.

26. "Wa-ge-tan-ne, an Indian, his wife and two children killed by lightning on a hunting excursion. Of this unfortunate number, two were Canadians, two English, two Scotch, and fourteen French Half-breeds, four Saulteaux and two Cree Indians."

When Lord Selkirk heard of the trouble Miles MacDonell was having in the endeavour to carry out his plans, and of his unsuccessful resistance to Nor'-Wester aggressiveness, he formed the belated conclusion that it would not be possible to prevent acts of violence in the settlement without a military force. In the endeavour to obtain such a force, he first approached the British Government; Lord Bathurst was Secretary of State at the time. In his petition Lord Selkirk stated that a military force was needed to safeguard the lives and property of the inhabitants in this part of the Empire, and that a small force was all that was necessary. His petition not being granted, he then approached the Canadian Government through Sir Gordon Drummond, Governour of Lower Canada. He made his plea stronger in this instance, but with no better success. Undeterred by these discouragements, he approached the Impérial and Canadian Governments again; but this time from another angle—would they sanction the sending in of a military force at his expense.

Considering the refusal to his previous petitions, and bearing in mind also the adverse opinions widely circulated as to the

motives underlying Lord Selkirk's mercantile colonizing intentions, one might have been prepared to hear of a prompt and decisive refusal, a course which would, no doubt, have accorded well with the sentiments of many leading British subjects of the time. For even Bishop Strachan as late as 1815 found occasion to make a public pronouncement upon the doings of Lord Selkirk, and the contribution therein made to the approbrium heaped on his Lordship's head, was not overlooked by the historian Gunn who found it so favourable to a slant in his own attitude, that he, so to speak, seconded the motion of the Bishop of Toronto, and in doing so pronounced Lord Selkirk "the chief of land-jobbing speculators." (See Gunn and Tuttle, page 120.)

Assuming for the moment that he was the chief land-jobbing speculator of his day, and that the Imperial and Canadian Governments with the assistance of Bishop Strachan and others, knew all about it, what, it may well be asked, did they believe as to the man's real character when they assented to his proposal respecting a military force being sent at his own expense to the place where they knew his undertakings were meeting with powerful opposition. Surely the Canadian authorities could not have gone a better way about it, if their intention was to show him their very high estimate of his character, than when they trusted him thus—trusted him as only one man in a thousand may be trusted—allowing him to lead a little army of his own into a region where civilization was unrepresented save by two fur trading companies pitted one against the other in bitter rivalry, with one of which he was so closely identified that however fairly he might act, he was bound to be accused of partiality by the company opposed to his own.

On this expedition Lord Selkirk was accompanied by the Countess, his son and his two daughters, as far as Montreal. There he spent the winter of 1815-16, engaged in the many preparations which would enable him to go forward on the opening of navigation. And early in May he sent Miles MacDonell forward in advance of the main brigade so that somewhere along the journey he might receive recent information of the state of affairs in the colony on the Red River.

By means of this last party of recruits for the colony, it may be said that Lord Selkirk planned the killing of two birds with one stone, in that the men of his military force became by contract with him in the first place, soldiers, and in the second place, farmers.

At the time of Lord Selkirk's arrival there were two regiments of European troops located in Canada, viz: the De Meurons stationed at Montreal, and the Watteville stationed at Kingston. They had been engaged first in the Napoleonic war and later in the war with the States; and at this time were being disbanded in Canada. So here, ready-to-hand was first class material for a military adventure; nor was there any valid reason why these men who were inured to the perils and hardships of a military life, should not be equally well fitted to engage successfully in the peaceful pursuits of husbandry on the banks of the Red River, their previous training being some guarantee that they would arrive at their destination, and that when they had done so, farming in those parts would become a little safer, and more pleasant than it had been in the past.

The inducements for which these military agriculturists undertook the expedition were as follows: A certain portion of land, necessary agricultural implements and \$8.00 monthly while on the voyage. One hundred and twenty De Meurons were engaged, and twenty of the Watteville regiment. Besides there were one hundred and thirty voyageurs. The brigade left Montreal early in June, 1816, and on arriving at Sault Ste. Marie, Lord Selkirk made a strong effort to get two magistrates to accompany him northward, because, though himself a magistrate, he felt that it was inadvisable that he should act in that capacity in any instance in which his personal interests were involved. However, in the extremely trying position in which he found himself later on he felt it his duty to exercise his magisterial powers. His explanation to the authorities was not unreasonable, viz: that he was forced to do it, and that to have adopted the alternative course would have been submission to a policy "in which force ignored every standard of justice."

The brigade had not proceeded far after leaving Sault Ste. Marie when two Hudson's Bay canoes were met, in one of which was Miles MacDonell, who, as previously stated, had been sent ahead to obtain news of the Red River Settlement. It had not been necessary for him to go further west than Lake Winnipeg, as he was there met by a party from the settlement who brought word of the Seven Oaks affair, and the expulsion of the colonists. With this mournful intelligence he at once returned, meeting Lord Selkirk and his party as just stated, a short distance from Sault Ste. Marie.

Mr. William McGillivray, the Nor'-Wester officer in charge of Fort William, received the news not much earlier than Lord Selkirk, as it was Miles MacDonell or some of his party who gave it out at Fort William in passing, so that when the Earl arrived news of the awful tragedy was still fresh in the minds of both. To Lord Selkirk it must have been heart-breaking, and even to the Nor'-Westers, among whom there must have been many right-minded men, it must have been brought home to them that blood-guiltiness was largely to be laid at the door of their establishment. But whatever the reasons for acting as they did, it must be admitted that they acted prudently. Their behaviour was not that of men who endorsed the actions of the slayers of Semple and his companions, but rather that of men who had had enough of a policy of aggressiveness and reprisal, and who wished to direct their thoughts into channels of business less liable to be drenched with human gore.

It speaks well for both sides and shows the value of education and discipline, that although feeling ran very high, no blood was shed on this occasion, and that there was no recourse to brute force on either side, although Lord Selkirk, acting in his magisterial capacity, arrested, tried, imprisoned, and sent east for trial, those whom he considered most guilty. Even the De Meurons were kept within bounds; and the Nor'-Westers, although they considered Lord Selkirk's actions quite unjustifiable, refrained from submitting their cause to the arbitrament of physical force, because, as was afterwards stated by some of their supporters—although they had the advantage of numbers, and could have annihilated Lord Selkirk and his whole party had they felt so

disposed, they refrained from a recourse to arms because they had made the resolve that there was to be no more bloodshed; and that it was on that account that they had confined their resentment to protests either verbal or written.

The result of Lord Selkirk's investigations was the arrest of Mr. McGillivray and other North-West officials, and these were sent east under charge of twenty De Meurons to undergo trial in the law courts of Canada. The winter of 1816-17 Lord Selkirk spent in Fort William, no doubt, first of all in studying with the aid of Captain D'Orsonnen, how best to proceed from the capture of the Nor'-West stronghold to the capture of his own. And turning their eyes in the required direction, they planned an overland journey to be made with all the dispatch consistent with caution. Now it so happened that at Lac la Pluie, almost in a direct line and about midway between Fort William and Fort Douglas the North-West Company had a very important trading post, of which at this time a Mr. Dease was in charge. Lord Selkirk and his military advisers decided that this fort would be an obstruction in the march toward Fort Douglas. And some time was inevitably consumed in changing the obstruction to an aid. First of all Mr. Fidler was sent in charge of a small party of De Meurons and voyageurs to demand the surrender of the fort. This was refused, and Mr. Fidler, believing that he was in no position to capture the place, returned to Fort William. Captain D'Orsonnen then tried what he could do; and having a larger party, and being also armed with two field pieces, he persuaded Mr. Dease to open the gates without delay, about the only thing he could have done, as the seven men who comprised his force had to depend for food on the fish they caught from day to day.

With this strategic point in possession D'Orsonnen and his party now quickly completed their preparations for their final dash toward Fort Douglas. They left the captured fort on snowshoes in the month of February. At first they followed the Rainy River, then the Lake of the Woods until they reached the point on the lake nearest the Red River. Then with the assistance of Indian guides, they traversed the intervening forest, emerging on the Red River some distance north of Pembina. Then following the Red River northward until within a few miles of Fort Douglas,

they struck out overland westward until they reached the Assinaboine at what is now St. James. There they hastily constructed light ladders, and the night being favourable for approaching the fort unobserved, they planted their ladders and climbed over the stockades before their presence was discovered. It was a clever and bloodless achievement, for when the defenders found regular soldiers (si-ma-kun-is-suk) within the fort, they threw down their arms and betook themselves to their houses.

Many hard things have been said and written about the De Meurons; but let this clever capture of Fort Douglas, and a few other of their military achievements always be remembered to their credit. Even in these days when military operations are conducted *in, on and through earth, air and sea*, the exploit of D'Orsonnen and his De Meurons would be considered a clever performance; and need it be said, that at the time it occurred and long afterwards, it was spoken of as a famous military feat.

As may be supposed, news of the exploit of the De Meurons was nowhere hailed with more delight than at Jack River, where the colonists had been in exile for eight months. And at once, the able bodied among them returned over snow and ice to Fort Douglas; and the rest of them followed on the opening of navigation in the month of June, arriving there about the same time as Lord Selkirk.

The first detachment from Jack River, aided by the De Meurons who captured the fort, kept their hoes going so industriously that by the time the other contingents arrived from the north and the east, numerous patches of land had been seeded to wheat, barley and potatoes. And a very good thing, too, that they had seed to sow, and that they sowed it before they were tempted to eat it, for after the other crowd arrived there followed about two months of food shortage, during which the available supply of fish, fowl or anything else edible was at times painfully inadequate.

What a wonderful meeting that must have been, when Lord Selkirk met his colonists on the banks of the Red River! No doubt, after their recent struggles in the world, their struggles for food and their resistance of Duncan Cameron, they could look his

Lordship square in the eye; but what about him? If he had treated them unfairly, he knew it and they knew it, and now was their chance to say so; but there is not the slightest evidence of anything so unpleasant having occurred. Their attitude and behaviour was that of persons who gave him credit for having acted disinterestedly, and who placed unabated confidence in his word, and were hopeful that his efforts would yet be crowned with success, and that there were happier days in store for them all. Not the faintest hint is there from the hour of his arrival to that of his departure that there was any expression of feeling between them other than that of a kindly and pleasant character.

While in the settlement Lord Selkirk did all in his power to encourage the colonists, and to make their position as secure as possible. To this end he made a treaty with the Indians, thereby extinguishing their title to a choice strip of country contained within the larger tract which he had purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. In response to his invitation a large number of Indians assembled at Fort Douglas, and after they had done ample justice to the Earl's bags of pemmican and rolls of tobacco, he proceeded in state to the place of conference, accompanied by as many officers as were attached to his expedition or connected with the fort. In the eyes of these simple people it was no doubt a magnificent display, far outclassing that of Duncam Cameron and his kilts. So favourable was the impression made on his confreres that they always spoke of him afterwards as the "Silver Chief," a compliment to his fine presence and pleasing address. One chief only was averse to the above treaty, but his objections were overruled by the others, among whom the most influential was Peguis, who was far-famed for his eloquence and good sense, and his friendship for the whites.

After much speech making, an agreement was drawn up and executed. It was dated July 18th, in the fifty-seventh year of the reign of George Third, and in the year of our Lord 1817, and was made between the Chief and Warriors of the Chippeway or Saulteaux Nation and of the Killistino or Cree Nation on the one part, and the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Selkirk on the other part: "Witnesseth that for the annual present or quit-rent hereinafter mentioned, and so forth . . ." Then it goes on to

describe the land made over to the King, for the use of Lord Selkirk, and consisting of a two-mile strip on each side of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, beginning from the mouth of the Red and extending southward to the Grand Forks on the said Red River, and along the Assiniboine beginning from its junction with the Red and thence westward to the mouth of the Muskrat River, otherwise called *Rivière de Champignons*. At three points along the Red River this strip was to be widened out to a twelve-mile circle. The three centres from which this circle was to radiate were the following: Fort Douglas, Fort Daer and Grand Forks. And the presents or quit-rent to be annually paid were as follows: "To the Chief and Warriors of the Chippeway or Saukteaux Nation, one hundred pounds of good, marketable tobacco to be delivered on or before the tenth day of October at Fort Douglas; and to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Killistino or Cree Nation a like present or quit-claim of one hundred pounds of tobacco, to be delivered on or before the tenth day of October, at Portage la Prairie, on the banks of the Assiniboine."

(Signed) Selkirk

(Signed) *Each by his mark*

The five chiefs, viz:

Oukidoat, *Big Ears*

Rayagié Rebmoa, otherwise Black Robe

Muchiwiwoab

Muckitooukoonace

Peguis

Witnesses:

(Signed) Thomas Thomas

James Bird

F. Matthey, Captain

D'Orsonnen, Captain

J. Bate

Charles de Lorimier

Louis Nolin, Interpreter.

The distance of two miles was explained to the Indians as being as far as a horse could be distinctly seen, or daylight discerned under his belly or between his legs.

Having thus ensured to his colonists the safe tenure of their homesteads, he next invited them to meet him on a stated day in August at a certain point on the west bank of the Red River. That spot was the one on which now stands St. John's Cathedral. There he spoke to them reassuringly, and showed that he was as anxious as ever to promote their welfare by placing them in possession of homes from which no man would have the right or power to expel them. It would be something strange, if, when those colonists there at Parsonage Creek on that autumn day of 1817, looked on the face of Lord Selkirk, they were so obsessed with thoughts of what they had suffered through him that they entirely forgot all that he had suffered through them. On reasonable grounds we can surely indulge the belief that they did not forget—that they were not unmindful of how an enemy had frustrated the success of the costly plans intended for their mutual benefit—and if they did not forget, then they could not but look upon him as a fellow-sufferer, whose sympathy for them they could not do otherwise than reciprocate most sincerely. And well might they feel reciprocally kind towards their generous fellow-countryman, for on this occasion he as good as made each of them a present of one hundred acres of land. He did so in this way: he told them, that as some compensation for the hardships they had experienced, instead of charging five shillings an acre for the one hundred acres each settler was to have been allowed, that was changed, and every settler would receive that quantity of land free.

Reminded of his promise of a minister of their own faith, he replied, "Selkirk always keeps his word," and by way of assurance that in due course he would keep his word in the matter just brought to his notice, he then and there made them a present of two lots, each having a frontage on the river of ten chains. This donation, to quote from Gunn's history, was made in the following words: "This lot on which we are met today shall be for your church and manse, the next, on the south side of the creek, shall be for your school, and for a help to support your teacher, and, in commemoration of your native parish, it shall be called Kildonan."

About the time of Lord Selkirk's visit to Red River it was getting to be generally realized both in Great Britain and Canada,

that the situation in the Red River Settlement and North-West America seriously demanded a change, and that there would have to be established some more British way of administering justice than had been practised by the two fur trading companies in their treatment of each other. So convinced were the companies themselves that such a change was necessary, that they had each been asking for some time for Government intervention by way of protection against the aggressiveness of the other; and after the Seven Oaks tragedy, followed by the severe exercise of magisterial authority at Fort William, both the Imperial and Canadian Governments clearly saw that the requests for intervention could not well be any longer ignored.

As the disorders complained of had occurred in what was designated as Indian territory, and an Imperial enactment of 1803 placed the responsibility of maintaining authority in such territory upon the Canadian Government, it lay within the province of the last named to straighten out the existing tangle; but on account of the preponderating British influence in the one company, and of the Canadian in the other, as well because of the seriousness of the crisis, it was regarded as fitting that both should bestir themselves in the matter, so that the ruling given might carry double weight and authority, and be more readily accepted as impartial. Accordingly, the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Bathurst, wrote to the Governour General of Canada, instructing him to ascertain the causes of so much trouble, and to see that the one company did not deny to the other the right of trade or the right to use any road that it might care to follow in pursuit of its trade; also that any authority previously conferred on any person to act as magistrate or sheriff be for the time recalled, and that restoration or compensation be made for any act of robbery or spoliation which may have been committed.

The Governour General at once set about carrying out these instructions, and for that purpose appointed a commission consisting of Colonel Coltman and Major Fletcher, the latter having had wide experience in matters of law. These gentlemen reached the colony while Lord Selkirk was still there, and were greatly assisted by him in carrying out their instructions. Colonel Coltman afterwards admitted that he had expected to find in

Lord Selkirk a man of despotic disposition, and that he was pleasantly disappointed to find him such an agreeable companion, and that as he came to know him better he rose very much in his estimation.

Unfortunately, by the time Colonel Coltman got back to Canada, legal proceedings were being taken by the North-West Company against Lord Selkirk for damage to its business sustained through his actions when exercising his magisterial powers at Fort William. Colonel Coltman's advice was that these legal proceedings should be stopped, and an attempt made to persuade the two companies to enter into some agreement whereby they might succeed in working together in harmony. The law suits were, however, persisted in, and in addition to the expense connected therewith Lord Selkirk was mulcted in the sum of \$10,000. In regard to this sentence, the writer endorses the view taken by Mr. G. Mercer Adam, who, in his history of the North-West writes: "Justice at the period had either departed from the country, or had become afflicted with a serious moral and physical squint."

The history of the Red River Settlement during the period that Lord Selkirk was connected with the Hudson's Bay Company is sometimes rather puzzling, for the reason that while his colonizing scheme was his personal undertaking and paid its own way with his assistance, it was being carried on in the same place, side by side with the fur trade and with an equipment common to both; and the mix-up was made worse by a considerable opposition among the Hudson's Bay Company's own officials to the colonizing scheme of Lord Selkirk. Consequently, on some occasions when a blow was struck, it was not easy to tell whence it originated and at whom it was aimed. For instance, when Lord Selkirk returned to England after having suffered from the "moral squint" of the Canadian law courts, the Nor'-Westers who were conversant with the law of reprisal so unhappily in vogue between the two companies, no doubt would be on the watch for something to hit them from somewhere, and they were not disappointed, although it would seem to have come more from the fur-trading arm of the company than the other.

It was in the year 1818, the year following Lord Selkirk's return to England, that there came from England a Mr. William Williams to take charge of the fur trade in Rupert's Land. He put in his first winter at Cumberland House in the Saskatchewan district, and returned in the early spring to the Red River Settlement. He was a naval captain who had been in the employ of the East India Company; and he was now prepared to give the Hudson's Bay Company the benefit of his training and experience. He undertook an expedition against the Nor'-Westers for which, very likely, preparations had been made during the winter, for when he arrived in the settlement, among the boats found in readiness was one so constructed that it could be equipped with a small cannon. The boats were manned by De Meurons and Hudson's Bay Company employees, and left the colony in time to reach the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan River before the Nor'-Westers could do so, in order that when they did arrive with their boats loaded with furs from their northern outposts, he and his De Meurons would be there in readiness to intercept them. He had certainly selected a place well suited to his purpose, and there he landed two field pieces, placing them at points of vantage where they could be trained either on the river or the path leading across the portage. The little fleet was safely tied up behind an island, and the various crews assigned places of concealment where they were to remain in perfect silence. But before they dispersed, Governour Williams read the Hudson's Bay Charter to them, and impressed upon them the great advantages which would accrue to the Company if its provisions were loyally carried out. He told them that it was easily noticeable from the Imperial document just read, that the North-West Company was intruding upon the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company in carrying on a fur-trading business in Rupert's Land, and that the present expedition was undertaken for the purpose of putting a stop to their nefarious traffic. Their leaders were to be arrested and sent to England or to Eastern Canada for trial, and if they offered resistance it would be so much the worse for themselves. He had not long finished the reading of the Hudson's Bay Charter, and given his exposition of it, when the Nor'-Wester brigades began to arrive, and the officers in charge commenced to walk over the portage, but they had not gone far when they discovered they



BISHOP ANDERSON

had suddenly walked into a trap, the formidable character of which they soon realized when they recognized the De Meurons and saw the cannon. Quickly realizing that the odds were against them, and that resistance would be rash, they surrendered unconditionally. Governour Williams then ordered the arrest of the officials and a number of the others, of whom some were sent to York Factory, there to be held as prisoners, awaiting the sailing of the Hudson Bay vessels, while others were sent to Montreal *via* Fort Moose and the Ottawa River. Among the former were Angus Shaw, John George McTavish and a Mr. Frobisher, and among those destined for Montreal was a Mr. John Duncan.

While being detained indefinitely at York Factory Mr. Frobisher and others succeeded in making their escape in the month of October; and they made off in a canoe in the direction of the Red River Settlement. While skirting the eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg, in the month of November the ice formed on the lake compelling them to abandon their canoe and continue their journey afoot. While journeying along slowly and painfully in this manner, a terrible storm occurred, compelling them to remain in their miserable hut for several days. While there Mr. Frobisher died, and the others leaving his body unburied, saved themselves by dragging themselves along a few days more till they reached a trading post of the North-West Company situated on Moose Lake.

How utterly absurd it does seem that two great companies, whose leaders were men of ability and education, should have conducted their business in such a spirit of hostility one against the other, year after year for several decades, until at length they found themselves on the verge of financial ruin. One would think that they might sooner have discovered that there is more gold in the observance of the golden rule than in the undermining of one's neighbour. But we may believe that they really did strike that mine of untold wealth when at last they united.

In the summer following Mr. Williams' bloodless victory over the Nor'-Westers, an army more formidable than his invaded the Selkirk colony. This invasion occurred on the 18th July. On that day a vast swarm of grasshoppers fell on the little fields of

the settlers and did very serious damage. Later in the season they deposited their ova, which in the spring of 1819 developed into a crop of sturdy young hoppers which devoured the grain and vegetable crops while they were nice and tender. As soon as these country-bred grasshoppers had grown their wings they stretched them out and sailed away from the country; but not long had they been gone when another army took their place in the fields, and, so to speak, entrenched themselves and deposited ova in readiness for 1820. These eggs after undergoing the usual eight months cold storage developed during the warmth of spring into living creatures whose leaps and bounds showed that they were true to type and ready for another crop—but the crop was not there—the colonists had not been able to procure seed, and just as if they were capable of taking the welfare of their progeny into consideration, no ova were deposited in the Red River soil that season. The colonists, we may be sure, noted the omission with pleasure; and with reviving interest and courage discussed the question of procuring seed for the following spring, and although their benefactor had by this time died his heirs and the Hudson's Bay Company drew upon the estate, and under the leadership of a Mr. Laidlaw, a party was organized to fetch seed from the United States. This party took its departure from the colony in February, 1821. They travelled on snowshoes to Prairie de Chien where they succeeded in buying two hundred and fifty bushels of wheat at ten shillings a bushel. Placing their purchase in flat boats they floated down the Red River to the Colony, arriving there after an absence of three months. The trip cost £1,000. As two hundred and fifty bushels would not be more than sufficient to sow one quarter section, and as a passing swarm of grasshoppers took toll out of the crops, the grain threshed out in the fall was not more than sufficient for seed in the following spring, therefore the colonists once more had to spend a winter at Pembina. But happier days had now come, and they began to take more pleasure out of life, and soon the happy and prosperous conditions prevailing in the colony furnished pleasing evidence of what they were capable of accomplishing when free from the menace of ill-disposed men and voracious grasshoppers.

This happy change took place too late to gladden the heart of Lord Selkirk. His health had commenced to fail following his return to England after the litigation in the Canadian Law Courts. To him possibly it sometimes looked as if his great personal undertaking had been a colossal failure, but to those who have studied his life free from prejudice, it is conceivable that as the end approached, he calmly looked into the future, drawing comfort from the reflection that he had loved his fellow-countrymen, and that the million dollars which that had cost him was an investment all to the good in view of what lay beyond. He died at Pau in the south of France, April 8th, 1820, surrounded by the members of his family.

Some great change often follows the removal by death of a great man of strong personality. Thus the death of Simon McTavish was shortly followed by the union of the North-West and XY Companies, and now the death of Lord Selkirk was soon followed by the union of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies.



CHAPTER FOUR

1820-1821

Evangelization and Amalgamation

THE union of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies was consummated on March 26th, 1821, and in the selection of a suitable name for the reconstructed and united company, there was an evident regard for the law of the survival of the fittest, in the retention of the name of that company whose legal status, patronage and prestige clearly entitled it to precedence, and so now for the last time it was given a chance to take in the North-West Company instead of being "taken in" by it, therefore it continued to be called as usual—the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, and, as the story goes, "they lived happily together ever after," the Nor'-Westers quite pleased to be called "Honourable" and to fight manfully for the enforcement of the Hudson's Bay Company Charter seeing now that "circumstances had altered the case."

In the reorganized Hudson's Bay Company there was necessarily considerable change; the capital, for instance, was raised to £400,000, which was done by the old Hudson's Bay Company raising its previous capital of £100,000 to £200,000 so that it might contribute equally with the Nor'-Westers to the capital of the new company. In the new Hudson's Bay Company as in the old there persisted the everlasting and unpopular distinction between capital and labour. Both these elements were well represented at the time of amalgamation, and their respective interests safeguarded in a document known as the deed-pole. In this document the terms used, the distribution of shares, the

steps of promotion and remuneration according to rank closely followed the system which had been in vogue in the North-West Company. To the labour class, meaning thereby the officials residing in and conducting the fur trade in Rupert's Land, there was assured after reasonable probation a generous participation in the profits accruing from the fur trade.

The following will further explain this co-operative system formulated by the two sections of the service for the general benefit:

The stock was divided into one hundred shares. Of these the subscribers retained sixty for themselves, and turned the remaining forty over to the party conducting the Company's business in the fur country itself. At the inception of this system, all apprenticed clerks and postmasters would rank as non-commissioned officers and be paid by salary. But every year there were due a certain number of promotions when a clerk or postmaster who was promoted entered the commissioned officer class and ranked as a Chief Trader. By a second promotion later, a Chief Trader ranked as Chief Factor. The officials in Rupert's Land who were in the Commissioned Officer class were paid in dividends instead of by salary, and were called "wintering partners."

The forty shares aforementioned were divided into eighty-four smaller ones so as to correspond to the number of Chief Factors and Chief Traders who were to be maintained in full number. A chief trader received as his income the proceeds of one share, and a chief factor the proceeds of two. Commissioned Officers were ex-officio members of the council for the fur trade. This council for a long time held its annual meeting at Norway House because it was in the line of traffic and a splendid distributing centre north and south. The name, Norway House was given owing to a number of Norwegians having been for a time quartered at this point to assist as boatmen. At these meetings of council, promotions were made, and retirements arranged for. A retiring commissioned officer received a full share for one year after retirement, and a half share for six years afterwards.

From this out, the history of the Hudson's Bay Company is that of a powerful corporation in a far better position than formerly to insist upon its rights; and it might well be expected that there would be no important deviation from its former policy, since the company which had joined, when acting as opponent, had shown an equally monopolistic spirit. From the nature of the case it did not seem likely that the coalition company would be more modest than either of the old, or that it would try to do business on a higher plane. However, after having suffered so much at each other's hands they appeared to appreciate a rest; and it was a good time to pause and reflect how best to start afresh. Perhaps during that pause the dead spoke—among them, kind Governour Semple who met his tragic death at Seven Oaks, and who deploring the lack of Christian churches in the land had written; "I blush to say that throughout the whole extent of the Hudson's Bay Territories no such building exists." And perhaps a voice haunted them, coming from the lonely eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg, where only two years before, poor Frobisher was starved and frozen to death, because the fur-trading companies of the day had become victims to a consuming ambition. And who can say that in the midst of negotiations for union, Lord Selkirk, at the time hovering this side "that undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns," did not somehow convey a message to opponents and compeers alike, whose hearts having somehow become susceptible to kindlier feelings enabled them to think of the man in a new light; so that the hand of charity which covereth a multitude of sins would draw a veil over his mistakes—seemingly, however, overlooking his worst mistake—that of interpreting the Hudson's Bay Charter according to the letter which killeth instead of according to the spirit which quickeneth. It must, however, be admitted that even with the Charter—that bone of contention—still in the way, when that pause was over during which union was consummated, it was perceptible to the observant eye, that the Company did actually intend to conduct its business on a higher plane; and that, whereas before, it stood up for its rights and privileges it now evidently admitted that obligations and opportunities were morally therewith involved. We may becomingly praise the re-organized Hudson's Bay Company for having so fittingly shown

a sense of obligation at the time, in the way it did, but this should be after the manner in which praise is bestowed on the farmer who by thrift and intelligence raises a good crop, but is not therefore entitled to all the praise: for while it might be true enough that he had seized himself of a parcel of land, that same could not be said with the party of the first part left out of consideration—the source from whence also came the thrift and intelligence as well as the rain and sunshine.

In tracing back the history of any institution which we find established in our midst we have to deal largely with organization and personality, and he who would write history intended to be both fair and informative, when discussing them, or incidents and opinions relating to them, must needs sometimes do so not only from the secular point of view but from the moral and religious as well. And I promise to devote the rest of this chapter in describing in *an unbiased manner* how it was that Rev. John West, one of the first missionaries to Rupert's Land came out under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company. Assuredly this came about because the Company was at one with all true exponents of the Christian church in regard to her claim that wherever her teaching is cordially accepted and faithfully practised, there peace, prosperity, contentment and happiness are bound to flourish. And now seriously realizing its obligation to those in the territory over which it presided it took the initiative in the cause of missions so as to bring these blessings within the reach of the people of the land.

Already it has been stated in substance that no man or corporation succeeds independent of the Power who provides the field of operation, and furthermore it may be said, that what we humans speak of as a combination of circumstances is simply a process of development by which fields of operation are being made ready. John Baptist found his field of usefulness in the wilderness, and so did John West; but in neither instance can it be said that it just happened. No doubt Lord Selkirk's colonists helped prepare John West's field of usefulness, opening the gate for him, so to speak, although we certainly don't mean to say that they did so knowingly and cheerfully. Nevertheless, the man of "attentive and believing faculties" will admit that in a worthy

manner they did help prepare the field, not necessarily because of their having secured from their patron the assurance of a minister who would follow them to the "promised land" and there provide them and their children the benefits of systematic religious instruction; but rather because when pioneering in the said land some time before John West reached it, although they had to sacrifice nearly everything they possessed, there was one thing which they valued more than all the rest—"the pearl of great price," and with it in possession they were able so to adorn in their lives the doctrine of Christ, that there need be no surprise that the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company at this time was adjusted so as to provide these good people what they had all along so consistently desired—an ordained minister to preach to them and others in the land of their adoption. And the difference of opinion which later developed between the Company and the colonists, had nothing to do with the question of the Company's obligation to encourage missionary enterprise in their territory; but was restricted entirely to the Company's liability for the fulfilment of the promise verbally made by Lord Selkirk to the colonists, of a minister of their own church who could speak Gaelic.

But besides the colonists there were by this time other devout Christians in the land. These were to be found among the officers and other employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, one here and one there, scattered over the territory at the time occupied by the Company. These were Scottish with a sprinkling of English. Although they came from widely separated points and served the Hudson's Bay Company in places still more widely apart, they were not unlike the colonists in their fond remembrance of the religious privileges they had enjoyed at home. They had bibles and read them; and some of them still kept up the Godly custom of family worship. And, all told, they were numerically equal to the colonists, and the influence of the two acting conjointly upon the Company must have affected it much after the manner in which the leaven which a certain woman hid in three measures of meal, continued its leavening process until the whole was leavened. And when a field had been made ready in this land for the sowing of the Word, it was found that as a result of a religious revival which had taken place in the Old Land, and which beneficially

affected the British Empire to its remotest bounds, there was not lacking the man and the means whereby the field made ready by the Christians in the new land could at once be occupied by missionaries from the Old. One thing at any rate is abundantly clear—conditions here fitted in wonderfully with conditions over there; and the spiritual urge which led John West to come out as a missionary had its beginning in the religious movement in England, when men and women were deeply stirred by the earnest preaching and devout hymns of John and Charles Wesley, which found practical expression in the formation of the Church Missionary Society; a society in whose work John West had interested himself while in England, and under whose auspices as well as that of the Hudson's Bay Company he laboured as missionary after his first eighteen months in Rupert's Land.

And now it behoves me to explain how it was that lots three and four at Parsonage Creek came to be in possession of an Anglican clergyman instead of a Presbyterian minister, seeing that the aforesaid lots had been verbally donated to the colonists by Lord Selkirk, to the intent that they might thereon locate a Presbyterian Church establishment.

The writer is indebted to Professor Bryce's history for the following list of colonists who were in the colony at the time of Lord Selkirk's visit in 1817. It has been spoken of as the "Honour Roll."

Donald Livingstone
George McBeath
Angus Mathieson
Alexander Sutherland
George Ross
Alexander Murray
James Murray
John Farquharson
John McLean
William McKay
Alexander Matheson
John Sutherland
Alexander McBeath
Christian Gunn (Widow)

John Bannerman
George McKay
Alexander Polson
Hugh Polson
Robert McBeath
Alexander McLean
George Adams
Martin Jordan
Robert McKay
Margaret McLean (Widow)
James Sutherland
William Bannerman
Donald McKay
John Flett

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| Alexander McKay | John Bruce |
| Alexander Sutherland (Sr.) | Ebenezer Sutherland |
| William Bannerman | Donald Bannerman |
| Roderick McKay | Beath Beathen |
| George Bannerman | George Sutherland |
| John Matheson | |

The above total of forty-three multiplied by three gives us one hundred and twenty-nine which would represent the entire number of Lord Selkirk's colonists, including women and children. I think, however, that I have struck a little closer to the actual figure by the following computation:

Number which left Scotland and Ireland:

First party which left Stornoway, July 26, 1811. 105

Of this party due to scurvy and other causes the number which arrived in Rupert's Land August 30, 1812 was 70.

A loss of..... 35

Later, in the Autumn of 1812, Owen Kaveny arrived in Rupert's Land with a small party from Ireland of... 18

In 1813 a party left Scotland numbering 97

Of these there arrived in Rupert's Land 93.

A loss of..... 4

In June, 1815, Duncan Cameron *captivated* and took to Canada a party of colonists numbering 134.

A loss of..... 134

In 1815 Governour Semple came out with a party numbering... 90

In 1816 Hugh McLean fell at Seven Oaks. A loss of..... 1

310 174

Total number remaining in colony in 1817..... 136

Of the above remnant of Lord Selkirk's Scottish immigrants those on the Honour Roll would naturally be very much interested in the fulfilment of his promises respecting a missionary of their

own church. And they would not have acted true to their racial type of intelligence and economy, had they failed to perceive that in Lots three and four of Parsonage Creek they had not only proof of an agreement between Lord Selkirk and themselves, but a partial explanation of what the agreement was. And allow that this did not constitute a legal claim, it became morally tantamount to one, when to their own indisputable evidence there is added the course pursued by the Hudson's Bay Company in regard to these lots and the locating of their chaplain. And perhaps it will not be a useless reiteration for the writer to state at this stage, that the situation as it now confronts us is this:

Three parties have become interested in the same piece of ground. The first party claimed ownership on the strength of a verbal promise made to them by the legal and acknowledged owner of the land, and this was purely a business transaction between themselves and the previous owner, and for a time it remained entirely their business, and was no concern of the other two parties referred to. Nevertheless, in the course of time these other parties became involved without any intent or fault of theirs; but in a world such as ours with its everyday exhibitions of strife and misunderstanding this need not have created any great surprise; it did, however, and is doing so still, because more than one writer when describing these differences employed an unhappy tone which carried with it the implication that either the Hudson's Bay Company or the Anglican Church or both had stooped to intrigue. The writer is a believer in fair play, and after giving this subject a most painstaking examination has no hesitation in saying that there is no justifiable ground for any such suspicion.

Failure to fulfil a promise is certainly reprehensible—not, however, when it is due to uncontrollable circumstances, and not to a poor quality of manhood; and if Lord Selkirk's promise to his colonists be given this consideration he will need no further vindication.

Lord Selkirk at different times instructed one of his agents to find a minister for the colonists. One agent who was so commissioned was John Pritchard. Of this gentleman it has been stated by at least one historian that "while he was a kind and benevolent man"

he was an Episcopalian and had no use for Presbyterianism. What use he may have had for Presbyterianism the writer cannot say; but this I will say: Although he may have many a time confessed "that he had left undone the things that he ought to have done," a man is a man "for a' that and for a' that," and I have it on unimpeachable authority that he did try his level best to carry out his instructions, but he failed to find a man who considered "the call" sufficiently attractive. But even supposing Mr. Pritchard's veracity which has never been doubted was not championed by irrefragable authority, would that be any justification for assuming that it was the *stripe* in his religion which was the cause of his failure? Surely there are other facts which furnish a better explanation: this, for instance—that in the very territory which eventually supplied the long expected minister, a dignitary of the agent's own church, Bishop Strachan, noted for calling a spade a spade, had called Lord Selkirk "a chief of land-jobbers." A prudent Scottish minister might object to such associations. And then there was this fact—the majority of colonists had departed from the Red River Settlement and were even then in Canada because they had found the conditions in the former place unbearable—and yet another fact, that of the killing of Governour Semple and nineteen employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and one colonist, which had occurred only four years previously, the consequences of which were still seriously agitating the minds of both Hudson's Bay Company and Nor'-Western people. These facts, in the opinion of the writer should explain how it was that John Pritchard failed to bring his employer's wishes to fruition. Apparently at this particular juncture there was not to be found a Presbyterian minister in the Old Country who regarded this as "a call" to be taken seriously as pointing out his course of duty. And so it was that the promise which Lord Selkirk had made to his compatriots standing among them at Parsonage Creek in 1817 had to remain unfulfilled until 1851, thirty-four years later. It was, however, only for the first three years of that period that he could be held personally responsible for the fulfilment of the promise, as he died in 1820; and if what has already been written is not sufficiently cogent to explain why during this time the minister was not provided, it may help a little to add, that amid the troubles which confronted

him during the latter years of his life his health broke down; and there is no doubt that the treatment he received in the Canadian law courts hastened his death, because these courts made him out to be a deceiver and not what he was—a philanthropist.

Here the writer finds occasion to give expression to the thought which is perhaps more novel than trite—that every event in life is first *an effect* and after that *a cause*: thus the untimely death of Lord Selkirk, as just stated in substance, was in large measure the effect of the treatment meted out to him by his opponents through the medium of the Canadian law courts. And when the observer looks for events of which his premature death was in part the cause, he can hardly fail to regard as such the amalgamation of the two companies which was being discussed at the time of his death and was consummated the year after. But even before amalgamation occurred another event of equal importance had taken place, which also might be set down as an effect of his death, and that was the introduction into the Red River Settlement of systematic religious instruction: for let this be noted—Lord Selkirk died April 8, 1820, and Rev. John West left Gravesend May 27, 1820, being at the time under contract with the Hudson's Bay Company to serve in their territory as educationist and missionary. And presently Mr. West shall inform us of what his instructions were.

Had the colonists known at the time of John West's arrival that there was a connection between that event and the promise of a minister which had been made to them, one would suppose that they would have informed the Hudson's Bay Company in no unequivocal terms that they did not care for a man of his cloth. And yet one cannot be quite certain that would necessarily have followed; for one must remember that they were of a breed noted for kindliness of disposition, and that they knew what it was to be strangers in a lone land; and to their credit be it said, they gave to this ambassador of Christ the glad hand of welcome. At any rate it must be admitted that their attitude at this juncture showed that they took his position into consideration and appreciated his endeavours to benefit the people of the country, including themselves. All the more so because before this the Company had given two or three young men the chance to become

schoolmasters for the benefit of the families of its employees; but no sooner had these gentlemen got the lay of the land than they discovered that they had mistaken their calling, and they decided that the men with families would have to do as themselves should, they ever have families—get somebody else to teach them. So meanwhile they followed the example of the family men, and adopted the fur trade in the Company's service as their proper sphere of activity—one congenial to their tastes, as offering lots of leisure for smokes between meals and a better prospect of fitting pecuniary returns. But the colonists had no cause to suppose that John West's plans in regard to education would peter out in any such fashion. For one thing he belonged to a Church renowned as the foe of illiteracy, and for another thing he brought with him a substantial guarantee that he was intent on maintaining that reputation. That guarantee was furnished in the person of George Harbidge, brought all the way from England to be a schoolmaster in the colony, and like himself, in the pay of the Hudson's Bay Company. And if any further evidences were needed to show that John West was carrying out his instructions and living up to the traditions of his church, witness the two little Indian boys who disembarked with him and Harbidge at Fort Douglas, one of them taken aboard at York Factory and the other at Norway House, both of them to become pupils of the school of which Mr. Harbidge was to be the teacher.

It would appear that at this stage of their acquaintance Mr. West met with cheerful co-operation from the colonists, and two or three weeks after his arrival he was able to write that Mr. Harbidge had commenced school-teaching in a building which was three miles north of Fort Douglas which had been altered and repaired to make it suitable for the purpose. The attendance was between twenty and thirty children. During the first two months after his arrival Mr. West had his quarters in Fort Douglas; but after that until he left the country he made his home at Lord Selkirk's farm which was three miles west of Fort Douglas, but in 1822, when Fort Gibraltar had been much improved he was allowed room there for Mr. Harbidge and his pupils, and for holding school and religious services; but in the closing days of the same year the little church which he was

having built at Parsonage Creek was sufficiently advanced to permit of divine service being held there. And by that time quarters had also been provided for Mr. Harbidge and the few resident pupils in a smaller building which stood near the church. While school was held in the place first mentioned, Mr. West states that its distance from his residence, six miles, interfered with the discharge of his professional duties.

From the foregoing it may be plainly seen that Lord Selkirk's executors intended or hoped that the colonists would accept John West in lieu of the promised Scottish minister, and that in assuming this they created a situation not only for John West but John Pritchard as well, which was so delicate that it might well have been labelled—"To be handled with care." Much has been made of the facts that Mr. Pritchard was in London, England, at the time of Lord Selkirk's death, and that a few days after that event Mr. West was engaged by the Company as chaplain in order that he might undertake educational and missionary work in Red River Settlement; and that after another interval of a few days he took his departure for the colony accompanied by Mr. Pritchard. There is no denying that these facts were significant; but not in the sense that they furnished just grounds for the suggestion that there must have been some connivance between Mr. Pritchard and the Hudson's Bay Company about a clever way of evading the fulfilment of the promise made to the Selkirk colonists of a Presbyterian minister. There is no ground for any such suspicion. And let it be remembered that Mr. Pritchard would know from the Earl's own mouth what he really did mean when he made the promise of a minister. Who can suppose that he meant to endow the Kildonan parish! What he did mean is perhaps explained in a letter written by John West after his first year in the country. From this letter it appears that Lord Selkirk had formulated a regular system whereby Protestant churches operating in Assiniboia were to be financed. Briefly, it was a system of maintenance by labour and kind, in which cash did not seem to cut any figure. Professor Bryce in his history, "Lord Selkirk Colonists," facetiously calls the system a "gem of ecclesiasticism." John West himself considered it unworkable, no doubt having already had some occasion to say so. Fortunately for him—and I suppose the

colonists thought for them also—he was not under contract to establish the system, and he had cash sufficient from other sources, having from the start his salary of £100 as chaplain, and at the date of this letter some eighteen months after the first appointment, he was placed on the staff of the Church Missionary Society, receiving at the time a grant of one hundred pounds to assist him in his work among the Indians.

In treating of this whole subject it should be kept in mind that there was no conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and Lord Selkirk's heirs over any minister; and that they were in harmony over the appointment of John West, evidently hoping that he might prove an acceptable substitute for the promised minister. And another thing also evident is that Lord Selkirk expected the promised minister to be a man with missionary spirit enough to extend his usefulness far beyond the confines of the Parish of Kildonan, and it is still further evident that the Hudson's Bay Company showed approval of this view in what they expected of John West. This will be made clear from two quotations from John West's journal.

Writing from Gravesend May 27, 1820 (Page one), he says: "My instructions were to reside at Red River Settlement, and under the encouragement and aid of the Church Missionary Society, I was to seek the instruction and endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the native Indians."

Then on page sixty-four he writes, "The Earl of Selkirk having suggested that, 'in the course of each summer it would be proper that the minister should visit the Hudson's Bay Company's factory at Norway House, and also at York Factory, as a great number of their servants are assembled at these places for a few weeks in summer, and have no other opportunity for any public religious instruction'."

And now, before leaving this subject for a time, the following recapitulation should be useful:

- (1) There was no contract between Lord Selkirk and his colonists, but only a promise by word of mouth of a minister of the Presbyterian Church.

(2) Before Lord Selkirk's promise could have been fulfilled, conditions arose and persisted up to the time of his death, which made its fulfilment almost impossible.

Following upon amalgamation, the Hudson's Bay Company engaged John West as its chaplain, and George Harbidge as a school-teacher; and thus took the initiative in conjunction with the Church Missionary Society in establishing educational and missionary work in this country. It is also evident that Lord Selkirk's heirs hoped that this forward movement would satisfy the religious aspirations of the colonists.



CHAPTER FIVE

1821-1825

Progressiveness on Trial

FOR the first three decades of the history of the Church in Red River Settlement, the writer has to rely on tradition, corroborated by the writings of a number of historians. Two of these have been especially helpful in this respect, viz: Hon. Donald Gunn and Sheriff Alexander Ross. Many of their latter years ran concurrently with the earlier of my own, and I have often walked the paths along which they must often have met in discharging the duties of their respective callings, when, "as iron sharpeneth iron," they would gain keenness of vision in discussing the past, present and future history of their adopted country. However that may be, whenever I find the two in agreement—and they usually are—I have felt no hesitation in quoting them with confidence, none the less so on account of their being Scotsmen and Presbyterians, except their remarks happened to involve their nationality and creed, when if I quote them at all, I do so with fear and trembling lest I should wound the spirits of their numerous estimable friends.

At the age of sixteen Donald Gunn left Caithness, Scotland, in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Two years after the amalgamation, after having been ten years in the service, he retired and settled at "the Rapids," now known as Lockport. He farmed there successfully for ten years, after which he taught school for eighteen years under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. His history was not published till 1880. Alexander Ross who came to Red River from Oregon in 1825 had

also been in the Company's service for a time. His "History of Red River Settlement" was published the year of his death, which occurred in 1856; and Mr. Gunn who outlived him by a good many years sometimes quotes from it, always, however, honestly adhering to his own style, and drawing from his own larger fund of personal knowledge of their common subject, expressing himself with more caution and in a tone, which, if not taken too seriously, might possibly imply a charitable desire to give those who differed from him "the benefit of the doubt."

Both Mr. Gunn and Mr. Ross give a list of the ten Governours who presided over the Red River Colony during the forty-three years between 1812 and 1855. Their lists are in perfect agreement, and the following is an exact copy of the one given by Mr. Gunn:

Captain Miles MacDonell, from August, 1812 to June, 1815;

Alexander McDonell, from August, 1815 to June, 1822;

Captain A. Bulger, from June, 1822 to June, 1823;

Robert Pelly, from June, 1823 to June, 1825;

Donald McKenzie, from June, 1825 to June, 1833;

Alexander Christie, from June, 1833 to June, 1839;

Duncan Finlayson, from June, 1839 to June, 1844;

Alexander Christie, from June, 1844 to June, 1846;

Colonel Crofton, 6th Reg., from June, 1846 to June, 1847;

Major Griffiths, 6th Reg., from June, 1847 to June 1848;

Major Coldwell, from June, 1848 to June, 1855.

By comparing the time during which Mr. Gunn and Mr. Ross lived in Red River Settlement with that covered by the time in office of the ten Governours it will be noticed that Mr. Gunn had a chance to become acquainted with them all; and Mr. Ross with all but the first three; and, considering their social standing and the nature of their respective callings, their acquaintanceship was likely to be quite intimate.

By the time that Governour Alexander McDonell had been five years in authority, Lord Selkirk's executors had reason to believe that the colonists were not being fairly treated, and so Mr. Halket, the principal executor, who was also a man of commanding influence in the business of the fur trade, paid a visit to this country, and in the course of his investigations

discovered that the reports which had reached England were well founded—that supplies sent out by Lord Selkirk for the benefit of all the colonists were not being distributed according to schedule — that interest was being unlawfully charged the employeess—that negligent book-keeping had brought about a helpless tangle in many accounts. And so, by way of a general housecleaning; Governour McDonell *was resigned*, the unlawful interest was eliminated and the Gordian knot presented by the accounts was solved by scoring off twenty per cent of the amount of the debts so far as that could be ascertained. And as to the future, Mr. Halket pledged his word that all necessary supplies would be obtainable at the Company's store at Fort Gibraltar (name changed about this time to Fort Garry), that the accounting done there would be accurate, and that instead of having to pay more than double what the goods cost in England, they would have to pay only one and two-thirds that price. After thus heartening up the colonists and completing an inspection of the real business of the Company—that of the fur trade, he started on his return journey to England, taking the old canoe route through Lake Manitoba into and across Lake Winnipeg and so onward to York Factory where it was definitely settled that the arrangements made by him with the colonists would be carried out.

There is one thing which is difficult to explain in connection with this visit of Mr. Halket, and that is the silence of the colonists about the promised minister. It is a silence, however, which admits of being construed in their favour. It was less than two years before that the news of the death of Lord Selkirk had reached them—this man who had been, or who at least had endeavoured to be their benefactor—and remembering that a widow, and a son and a daughter were mourning his loss, it would be felt that this was an inopportune time to remind a close friend of his of an unfulfilled promise. Therefore, to their credit, be it said, they were silent.

Alexander McDonell was Governour of the Colony for six years and ten months, Captain Bulger for only one year; but in that one year the progress of the country was seven-fold that of the seven years preceding. Of course, it does not necessarily follow that Captain Bulger was forty-nine times as good a man

as Alexander McDonnell; although in politics this sort of logic is rather common—when, if a certain leader and his party does not lead to good times all round, the idea of conditions furnishing an explanation is too often overlooked, while it is sought for in an administration which may not be to blame.

It would therefore be only fair after remarking upon the differences in results following the tenure of office of the two Governours above named, to bear in mind the difference of conditions under which they ruled as well as the difference of the men themselves. Bear in mind first of all that Mr. McDonnell's inception to the office of Governour took place amid the throes of the Seven Oaks disaster, an event serious enough to make the seven years of his rule seven lean years. Well then might Captain Bulger's year in office be a fat one. He took hold a year after amalgamation when its benefits were beginning to be realized, one of which was Mr. Halket's visit and the arrangement with the colonists which followed and put them in such good spirits that the Buffalo Wool Company was the outcome. Then we have to remember that there was no grasshopper plague during Captain Bulger's tenure of office, whereas in Governour McDonnell's time they were so great a scourge, that, according to Mr. Ross, he was spoken of as the Grasshopper Governour.

One of the first results of amalgamation was the retirement of hundreds of employees from one or other of the old companies, and one of the first achievements of the new company was to arrive at a satisfactory settlement with all these surplus hands. This had to be done gradually, and fortunately amalgamation itself had come about by gradual process, having had its inception in 1820 and its consummation in 1821, and so by the year 1822 the retiring employees were located according to their wishes or arrangements completed towards that end. Some were willing to remain where they were; some returned to the Old Country via the Company's ships from York Factory; some went to Canada; while others settled in the Red River Settlement, and did so with such expedition that in the year of Captain Bulger's rule they outnumbered the Selkirk Colonists.

Had there never been any colonizing scheme it is quite likely that the settlement of Red River would have come about much

as it was now doing, excepting, perhaps, that it would have taken place sooner. No doubt there would have been a survey resembling the one made by Fidler in order to prevent the confusion of indiscriminate squatting; but it is unlikely that they would have had to pay for the land on which they settled as they had to do at this time; although not unlikely they would have had the intimation from a government in the making that later there would be regulations requiring them to defray the cost of the survey, making of roads and the maintenance of some form of judiciary for the protection of life and property.

As regards the parts which would have been first settled, there, too, perhaps there would have been much similarity; but, of course, there would have been no "Scotch Settlement." But not unlikely there would have been the same form of group settlement which persists even unto this day, according to which the individual makes himself more at home when his immediate neighbours speak his language, and are of his race and creed. Nevertheless, had church and state persistently used their influence *against* instead of *for* this sort of settlement, by this time our linguistic, educational, racial and even our religious differences, would have adjusted themselves, so much to the general liking that when we addressed each other as "Friends" or "Brethren" it would come from deeper down; and when we said or sang "we are not divided" we would do so with more sincerity and truth than we can muster at present.

It is to be expected that the beginning of settlement in a new country will always be along the banks of a river or the shores of a lake, and that, when the cultivation of the soil is intended there would be a necessity for planning beforehand the width of frontage allowed to each; and although in the case of the Red River Settlement this was done by authority, we may be certain that it was not done without consulting the settlers; and the settlers guided by their neighbourly instincts, but not forgetting their business interests, would say let the lots be narrow, only not too narrow; and so long and narrow lots were the outcome.

In the Fidler survey the lots were uniformly ten chains wide and ninety deep, giving an area of ninety acres; but in 1822, another surveyor, Mr. Kemp, changed the width of the lots to

eight chains and the depth to one hundred and sixty, giving an area of one hundred and twenty-eight acres. Probably this change was made to accommodate a larger number of retiring employees, who, as already said, after coalition, quickly found themselves homes on the banks of the Red River. There is no doubt that for a settlement in its infancy this fringe form of survey and location has no equal. And in this particular case, as there was no physical obstruction to cause a single break in the entire length of the fringe, it was practicable to locate an Upper Church, a Middle Church, a Lower Church and a Lowest Church—each with its school—at intervals, correspondingly as regular as the abodes of the settlers. No wonder then, that when the transfer occurred, those who had for fifty years enjoyed the advantages of this particular style of survey, looked askance at the chequer-board form which was introduced.

Without contradiction, in so far as the social and domestic wellbeing of a community can be promoted by a form of settlement, the foregoing was faultless; but it did not help the settlers answer the question—how were they to obtain a market? And unless they could answer it, they were not, financially, a remove above the Indian or trapper, who had all the market he needed, when by direct barter he disposed of the last pelt that he had to the Hudson's Bay Company. And so as things were, hardly had the settlers escaped from the condition of things in which they could not get enough to eat, when they found themselves suffering from having more than they could eat. They realized, therefore, that if they were to be comfortable and independent they would have to devise a more comprehensive market than the one in vogue, which was already gorged with their raw and perishable products. And in the search for some avenue through which they might dispose of some more of these, some person with a fertile imagination thought of wool; not that they had a surplus of wool or any wool whatsoever, or even a prospect of any (it being generally considered that the country was too overrun with wolves to be suited for sheep raising), but the wool in mind was that to be obtained from the backs of the millions of buffalo roaming over the plains, not, of course, by a process of shearing, but that of skinning; and by

way of greater economy and double certainty of success, a tannery was to be established as well as woollen mills.

Thus it was that the "Buffalo Wool Company" came into existence. Mr. John Pritchard may not have been the originator of the scheme; but he was placed at the head of it as chairman or president, and it may be taken as a sign that a period of prosperity had set in, when the fact is stated that without much ado the required capital of £2,000 was subscribed. It was made up of one hundred shares of twenty pounds each. According to tradition and written accounts as well, the management met with unexpected difficulties in procuring a supply of either hides or wool and owing to this and the high wages paid to the employees, and an over-generous style of rationing them, it very soon became painfully and yet amusingly evident that this wild and woolly venture was doomed to failure; but failure in the common sense of the word often turns out a success when additional common sense is brought into action. And the settlers, even those of them who had invested, and who had some sense of humour, would begin to appreciate the Buffalo Wool Company because as a subject of conversation it afforded a pleasing variation from the everlasting reiterations about the state of the weather. Governour Bulger by way of encouraging or emulating the enterprise of his fellow citizens placed an order with some Americans to deliver to him at Fort Garry in the following summer sixty cows at nine pounds a head. And when the cute Americans heard of that order, no doubt more than one said, nasally, of course, "I reckon that a country with a citizen like that, and which also sports a Buffalo Wool Company is some place to do business."

And so when the summer of 1823 came round these Americans arrived in the Red River Settlement, not with the sixty cows only, but with a drove of about four hundred and ninety cows and oxen. And don't forget that most of the Indians, with possibly a chance exception, had never seen a beast like one of these before, and that the same was true of all the half-white kiddies, and that the colonists themselves had not seen one since they left Scotland; and then just for a minute, with eyes closed but ears open listen to the Americans laugh over childlike questions about what the

horns are for, or that funny little one having a suck, or someone wanting to know where the cows get their chewing-gum from.

Taking one thing with another this was comparable to a show by Barnum. Nor could Barnum himself have been more pleased with the wonder and delight of the spectators, or the returns which rolled into his coffers, than the Americans had reason to be over their reception in the Red River Settlement, for in the matter of recreation it was as good as a picnic, while as to profits it was a regular bonanza. Within a few days the entire herd was disposed of, good cows selling for as high as £30 a head, and trained oxen for £18 a head. And don't let it be forgotten that these profitable transactions were fruits of the buffalo wool enterprise. Seemingly, it sometimes pays to go wool gathering and those who did so literally in the instance herein described did collect wool enough with which to make some cloth. This was sent to England, and according to Mr. Ross this cloth which cost two pound ten shillings per yard in Red River, fetched only four shillings and sixpence in England. After dragging along till 1825 the project was abandoned; by which date not only was the capital of £2,000 spent but an additional £500 which had been borrowed from the Hudson's Bay Company. This latter sum stood for years in the Company's books against the stockholders of the defunct concern, but was at length cancelled.

Having in the last few pages devoted sufficient space to a description of the temporal prosperity enjoyed by the residents of Red River under the rule of Governour Bulger, permit me now to go back a little to pick up the religious threads which should ever be worked into the warp and woof of our histories. And first of all it is noteworthy that each of the principal Christian denominations in Great Britain—the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Presbyterian—had sent out an official representative or ordained man to the Red River country, and that Lord Selkirk, more than any other man, had to do with the sending of these representatives. The three were, (1) Mr. James Sutherland, an ordained elder of the Presbyterian Church, who came out in 1816. (2) Two Roman Catholic priests, by name Provencher and Dumoulin, who came out in 1818. (3) John West, who came out in 1820.

As was to be expected, Mr. Sutherland's ministrations were confined to his fellow colonists, by whom, as well as others he was highly respected; and although not a well-educated man he had a fine knowledge of the Scriptures and could conduct an edifying religious service for his compatriots, besides which he had authority from his church to marry and baptize, and I like to think that while discharging these last-named functions in the country he had it all to himself.

Not quite so fortunate were Reverends Pere Provencher and Dumoulin who came out later and stayed long enough to clash with Rev. John West over this matter. It came about in this manner:

Among the military colonists who came to Red River in 1817, there were a number of Swiss, and they were Protestants. The rest of the detachment were Roman Catholics. In 1821 when Rev. John West was returning from York Factory by Hudson's Bay brigade, he had among his fellow passengers quite a number of Swiss families. They were among the artisan class, and highly respectable. Upon their arrival at Fort Douglas the families in which there was one or more marriageable maidens received a much heartier welcome than those who had no such attractions to offer, and these maidens were sought after by so many hungry bachelors both German and Swiss, that in a remarkably short time every eligible maiden knew who was destined to be her husband. But even before that stage of lovemaking was reached the families not fortunate enough to have a girl eligible for marriage were making ready for a journey to Pembina, dreading what might be awaiting them there, while the fortunate girl-endowed families left behind c/o Mr. Son-in Law awaited the good time coming just around the corner.

But as some of the successful bachelors were Roman Catholics it became necessary in such a case to settle the question of who was to perform the marriage ceremony. In the opinion of the writer, when a question of this sort arises between parties intending to marry, the wishes of the woman should be consulted, because with a courage born of love she—although the weaker vessel—is willing to shoulder the heavier end of the burden for his sake,

her sake and the sake of those who are to come after. Mr. West may not have held opinions such as these; but I'll venture to say that had it been left to the Swiss girls they would have agreed with him in the ruling that since Roman Catholics and Protestants will inter-marry, it is just as well that such transactions should not be so surrounded with obloquy as to make it appear that parties who married under such circumstances did so in defiance of "just causes and impediments" which lay in their path. But the Swiss girl whose intended was a genuine Roman Catholic did not have the whip end this time, and in consequence there was friction between Mr. West and the priests. For even a genuine Roman Catholic will sometimes go against his church; and you might expect that when a real man is prepared to say to his beloved "with my body I thee worship" he is prepared to follow her into a much tougher place than a Protestant church.

It will somewhat divest these love affairs of the flavour of romance or religion to state that hunger partly accounted for the dispatch with which consummation in wedlock was attained—hunger for wives on the part of the de Meuron and Swiss bachelor, and actual hunger for food on the part of the Swiss maidens. For the voyage from York Factory had been extremely trying, not only because it was unusually cold, but because of shortage of food as well.

The following is culled from Mr. West's journal: "One of the Swiss was drowned on the voyage. Another, on Lake Winnipeg, got his feet badly frozen from going to bed with his wet moccasins on." On one particularly trying day Mr. West states that all he had had to eat was a little boiled barley. On another he was walking along the beach, gun in hand, when he came to a dead jackfish in a state of decomposition. While he was thinking of what might *not* happen if he ate some of it, he heard the croaking of a raven and hastily retired behind a bush. Down came the raven and set to work upon the fish, which it seemed to think "not too bad." But its activities came to an end with a discharge from Mr. West's gun—and, says Mr. West: "The success afforded me a welcome repast that night—and, say I; ravens seem to be good to prophets, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another. Yes, 'consider the ravens'."

It was November 4th when Mr. West and the Swiss arrived at Fort Douglas. On the way out to York Factory on this same journey (1821), it was Mr. West's good fortune to travel in company with a Mr. Garry, the director of the Hudson's Bay Company, in compliment to whom the rebuilt fort at the forks had its name changed from Fort Gibraltar to Fort Garry. Mr. Garry was visiting the country and negotiating the terms of amalgamation between the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies, an event in which Mr. West was equally interested knowing how beneficially it was bound to react upon the work he was doing. Mr. Garry showed a lively interest in Mr. West's plans, and co-operated with him in the establishment of a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Rupert's Land. And on his return to England he interviewed the Society in the matter, with the favourable result that by the very next ship which sailed, sufficient bibles were sent out to establish depositories in different centres in Rupert's Land. And from that day to the present there has never been lacking a supply of bibles quite equal to the demand, and always at a low price, and in many cases free.

This first consignment of bibles reached him in the year 1822. And he circulated many copies among the colonists in English, Gaelic, German, Danish, Italian and French. He states that they were gratefully received by them in general, "and by none more so than the Highlanders." By such an act as this he must have appeared to them almost like a minister who could speak Gaelic.

Along with the bibles there arrived another maiden lady to cheer the heart of another bachelor gentleman. This was Miss Elizabeth Bodeni, an English school-teacher, engaged to be married to Mr. Geo. Harbidge, at the time in charge of the boys' school at St. John's. Their marriage was performed at St. John's by Mr. West, October 18th, 1822.

Mr. West states in his journal that on his second annual visit to York Factory he travelled in company with Mr. Halket, and that the route taken was that via Lake Manitoba, and it would have been a strange thing if they did not more than once refer to the plans of the late Earl of Selkirk, and give their opinions as to how far those plans were being carried out.

At York Factory Mr. West met Sir John Franklin and Dr. Richardson who had returned from explorations in the north. These gentlemen were interested in evangelistic work, and gave Mr. West much valuable information about the Eskimo at Churchill and further north. Returning to Red River he continued his administrations there for another year. During that time he had the satisfaction of seeing his small church completed, and also a dwelling house. The church which was sixty by twenty was regularly filled to capacity. The school also, which now had a girl's department under the management of Mrs. Harbidge, was flourishing, and there was a marked improvement in the spiritual tone of the community.

In June, 1823, Mr. West left the Settlement for England, intending to return with his family. That he did not do so does not militate against the opinion that his love for the work had not grown cold, especially as he returned to North-West America, being engaged for several years in the maritime provinces in work similar to what he had been doing in Rupert's Land. He worked and he planned just as a man might be expected to do who gloried in a great cause, the far-reaching good effects of which are beyond the powers of any human being to estimate. It was surely a conviction of this kind which induced him before embarking from York Factory for England to make a journey afoot to Fort Churchill nearly two hundred miles distant, because Sir John Franklin the year previously had told him of a good opening for missionary work among the Esquimaux. A great part of the way to Churchill he had to wade through the icy waters of muskegs, harrassed day and night by swarms of mosquitoes. Arriving there he was able to address the Esquimaux through an interpreter who had served with Franklin. And after encouraging them and being encouraged by them he returned to York Factory, where he found that the ship had arrived, bringing with it Rev. David Jones a Church Missionary Society Missionary who was to proceed to the Red River Settlement to carry on the work which he had begun.

The Great Chief Peguis who was noted for his good sense and friendship for the Whites, regularly had Mr. West for his guest when his travels to and from York Factory brought him to the

Chief's camp which was near the mouth of the Red River. Thus it was that he spent the night there on October 5, 1822. On that occasion Mr. West says Peguis informed him that he intended to send two of his boys to the mission school in spring. Then there followed a conversation on marriage. It is given as follows in Mr. West's own words:

Speaking to him upon what was enjoined in the Good Book about the better way for a man to live, he says, "I added that it was the will of the Great Spirit, which he had declared in His Book, that a man should have but one wife, and a woman but one husband. He smiled at this information, and said he thought there was no more harm in an Indian having two wives than one of the settlers whom he named. . . . Our conversation closed upon the subject by my observing that there were some very bad White people, as there were some bad Indians, but that the Good Book condemned the practice."

As regards things pertaining to the spiritual and invisible realm, Mr. West learned from his talk with the Indians themselves and with people who were conversant with their beliefs and practices, that they did not worship or seek dealings with a God by means of any picture or image; that they believed in two Great Spirits, the one too good to punish them, the other too bad to lose a chance of doing them mischief; therefore it was with him that they sought to do business. But I had better stay with Mr. West's exact wording.

"They have no idea, however, of intellectual enjoyments, but a notion prevails among them that at death they arrive at a large river on which they embark in a stone canoe, and that a gentle current bears them on to an extensive lake, in the centre of which is a most beautiful island, in the sight of which they receive their judgment. If they have died courageously in war they are particularly welcomed in landing on the island, where they, with skilful hunters, enjoy perpetual spring and plenty, and live with all the good in an eternal enjoyment of sensual pleasures. If they die with their hands imbued with the blood of their countrymen and are lazy, bad characters, the boat sinks with them, leaving

them up to their chins in water, that they may ever behold the happiness of the good, and struggle in vain to reach the island of bliss."

An examination of the registers of St. John's Parish, showed that Mr. West married many couples and baptized a great number of children. This was largely because they had been accumulating before he arrived. Hitherto the Whites who chose themselves wives from the daughters of the land were united according to the usages of the time and place, and a union so contracted while legal, in the intention of right-minded contracting parties and in the opinion of rightly informed people, only awaited a convenient opportunity of being confirmed by sacred ordinance, and the arrival of Mr. West presented just such an opportunity; and it is doubtful if there was a single Company's post visited by him in which there was not at least one couple who were glad to have their union blessed by the ministrations of the church. And after that there were generally children to be baptized, not infrequently as many as six, seven or eight.

In the case of my own paternal grandparents—the one an Orkney man from Stromness, the other Anglo-hybrid and country born—marriage to the best of my knowledge was first by civil contract. Then some ten years later, according to the rights of the Church of England, they were married at Fort Douglas, May 27, 1821, by John West. And immediately thereafter he baptized their five children, viz: Peter, John, Margaret, Harriet and Sally. The second on this list was my father.

When Rev. David Jones took up work at St. John's where Mr. West left off, he held the same appointments, being a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and also chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company; and although of a less rugged constitution than his predecessor he succeeded in doing the work of a strong man. It is reported of him that he comported himself with considerable dignity; but evidently it was not detrimental to his usefulness, for it is conceded on all hands that he was loved and respected, although at one time after one of his earlier reports to the Church Missionary Society had been reported back to Red River Settlement he did not stand very high with the Highlanders,

because when mentioning them and the Orkney men and Anglo half-caste he stated in effect that "they were not as broad-minded and generous as the former nor equal to the latter in simplicity and godly sincerity." If, upon reading this in the missionary register, they were angry, we would not be surprised. However, it is a pleasure to relate that they soon forgave him for his work's sake, or possibly because being themselves honest and truthful, they could respect those qualities in another.

When he had been a short time in the Settlement, the church at St. John's was found to be too small; so in 1824 he commenced building another a little north of Kildonan, which was opened for service January 30, 1825, and which afterwards was sometimes referred to as St. Paul's, sometimes as Middle Church. During the nine months following the completion of this church Mr. Jones held service in it every Sunday as well as in the church at St. John's.

The population of the Settlement at this time was heterogeneous in character, a fact which was very noticeable in the complexions and features of the people who composed Mr. Jones' congregations and filled the churches to capacity. He speaks of being much affected on one occasion, "at the manner in which the whole congregation, English, Scottish, Swiss, German, Canadian, Norwegians, Half-breeds and Indians joined in singing, 'Crown Him Lord of All,' little thinking," he says, "when he first read the hymn in Welsh, in the account of the formation of the London Missionary Society, that it would be brought home to his heart with so much power in the American wilderness." Mr. Ross, referring to the denominational situation which existed at the time of Mr. Jones' arrival only two years previous to this hearty singing of "Crown Him Lord of All," penned these words (page 81), "It was rather *anomalous* (the italics are mine) to see in this section of the country an English clergyman without a congregation of his own creed, and a Scotch congregation without a minister." And Mr. Gunn wrote (page 235), "So we have the singular *anomaly* of a Church of England clergyman without a congregation, and a Presbyterian congregation without a clergyman." From this it may be seen that Mr. Jones, dignified or not, had not allowed the grass to grow under his feet. But you see he came in with the full



ARCHBISHOP MACHRAY

tide, at the beginning of the fat years. And during the period of fifteen years that he worked in this country the good he accomplished would probably measure up well aside that of his great contemporary, Rev. William Cochrane, during the same period. Both were able men in the pulpit, and faultless in pastoral visiting; but while the former gave special attention to the educational work of the church, the latter made a specialty of the education of the Indians in the arts of husbandry. And no doubt each chose that part which by nature and training he was best fitted to perform, and therefore did it better than the other could have done.

The course pursued by Mr. Jones showed that he was in perfect accord with the work of his predecessor, Mr. West, as to the great importance of having a boarding school at St. John's where an education would be given which could properly be called *sound*, because therein proper emphasis would be given to the Word of God. Therefore under his supervision the work of Mr. and Mrs. Harbidge went steadily on until 1825, when they returned to England. (There was by this time a little George Harbidge.) And the Harbidge's going out and the Cochranes coming in, met at York Factory, and with a very little imagination you can visualize Mrs. Cochrane praising little Harbidge and deciding that when she reached the Settlement she would occupy the position vacated by the retirement of Mrs. Harbidge as long as conditions might require or make it convenient. A little previous to this Mr. William Garrioch, grandfather of the writer, had retired from the Company's service, so Mr. Jones engaged him as successor of Mr. Harbidge, and, according to the prevision, Mrs. Cochrane did fill the position vacated by Mrs. Harbidge. And in his next report to the Society, Mr. Jones wrote of an improvement in the school since Mrs. Cochrane had taken charge of the girls. And so, by judicious oversight, right up to the last days of his sojourn in the country, he had the satisfaction of seeing the little Indian boarding school of Messrs. West and Harbidge grow up into a famous institution, so famous, that Mr. Gunn in his history penned the words (for which the writer forgives him for a few other words in the selfsame history "not so good"), "We are not prepared to say what progress they made, but this we will say, that the elementary school established by

Mr. West for the instruction of a few Indian boys was the germ whence originated all the Protestant schools and colleges in Manitoba at the present time."

With regard to the success which attended the educational efforts of Mr. Cochrane along certain lines of more resistance, I would not go so far as to say that therein was contained the germ whence originated the Agricultural College of Manitoba, but this I will say, and say it from personal knowledge: there are many Indian fields and gardens in this country which are to be attributed to the agricultural instructions of Archdeacon Cochrane, who, as regards his methods of handling the Indians might be called "the father of all such as handle" the plough and the hoe, or the prince of farm instructors, while St. Peter's where he taught Crees and Saulteaux how to farm, might be called the pioneer experimental farm.


There he experimented with the nomadic and communistic tendencies of the aborigines, often stirred to laughter at the vagaries of the learners, whose category of things they liked to do, stated in the order of preference, would read something like this, eat, smoke, sleep, gamble, hunt, kihtika (farm), but with untiring patience he persevered, "in the morning sowing the seed and in the evening withholding not his hand," and at length he had the satisfaction of seeing that not only had *this* prospered but *that* as well; and again and yet again was to be heard from him his favourite paean of gratitude, "the Lord hath done great things for us whereof we are glad."



CHAPTER SIX

1825-1836

Inundation and Education

MONG the great men who resided in Red River after the amalgamation of the two fur-trading companies, few have been more deservedly given an important place in the history of those early days than that accorded the Reverend William Cochrane; and as the writer spent the twelve years of his life which ushered him into manhood in the same place where Mr. Cochrane contemporaneously spent his last twelve years on earth, he can write about him with assurance and satisfaction born of a lively interest and personal knowledge of his subject. So with a due appreciation of my advantage I proceed to add my humble quota to what others have already written of this great man, so that in the aggregate there may be a record of his work commensurate with its importance.

William Cochrane was born in Chillingham, Northumberland, England, in 1798. He was ordained deacon in 1824 and priest in 1825. During his first two years in the country, he relieved Mr. Jones of the main part of the pastoral work at St. John's; but as chaplain Mr. Jones continued his supervision of schools, besides being in sole charge at Middle Church. And in 1825 William Garrioch was teaching school at Park's Creek, and William Bunn, who married Magdalen Campbell, an aunt of the writer, was teaching school at Middle Church.

In 1826 there was a serious flood, which compelled the people to flee to Bird's Hill and other high ground; and many of the houses floated away.

In 1828 Mr. Jones visited England, and on his return in 1829 he was accompanied by Mrs. Jones. By this time Mr. Cochrane had been working out a plan for the extension of church work northwards, and a wooden building had been erected at the Rapids near the site of the present St. Andrew's Parsonage. So as soon as he was relieved of the care of the two upper churches he moved to the Rapids with his family, and the wooden building mentioned had to answer for a time as dwelling house, school and church; but by the year 1832 a wooden church had been erected. This church was used for seventeen years. Respecting the state of the Parish of St. Andrews at this time, the following is taken from Gunn's history, page 268:

"In the beginning of October, 1830, when the building of the church was commenced, the families living within the limits of what was then supposed to become the future parish were sixty in number. These families as to nationality and creed stood thus: thirty-six were from Scotland, chiefly from the Orkney Islands, Presbyterians by education; four heads of families were from England and might have been brought up in the Episcopal Church; the remaining twenty families were Half-breeds, the sons of the above Orkneymen. There were at the above period only two white women in the congregation, one of them represented England, the other represented Scotland. . . . The building was opened for public worship on the second of May, 1832." This church was not likely to be of much benefit to the Crees and Saulteaux whose favourite rendezvous was ten miles lower downstream; but in the hope that they might some day soon, at that place, have a church of their own where they might enjoy a service in their own language, just as soon as this St. Andrew's Church was completed Mr. Cochrane commenced to assist the Indians to form a settlement of their own. And the beginning he made there was in line with his regular policy—that of encouraging the Indians to abandon their wandering habits sufficiently at any rate to become tillers of the soil and to enable them to have their children taught. The policy was a wise one under the circumstances, first of all because he had the physical strength and will power that the undertaking called for, secondly, because soil and climate were suitable, and thirdly because the Christianizing of an

illiterate race demands that they be *at the same time* or even a little in advance, civilized. And considering the limited means at Mr. Cochrane's disposal it might be said that single-handed he carried out successfully the same policy as that under which in these days many Indian boarding schools are being maintained in Canada conjointly by the Government and churches.

The work Mr. Cochrane did in connection with the establishing of St. Peter's Church was in itself sufficient for one man; but when it is considered that he undertook this in addition to his work at the Upper Church where he took two services every Sunday; remembering, too, that the two places are ten miles apart, and the road between, an Indian trail passing through bushes, it might well be said that the man who undertook such a two-man job and carried it to a successful issue must have been gigantic, not only as to physical strength but in enthusiasm, willpower and energy; and anyone who knew Rev. William Cochrane could say all that about him and feel that he was not exaggerating even a little.

He set about the opening of "First Furrows" at St. Peter's in the following manner. He took two men, a yoke of oxen and plough and harrows; and for a number of weeks he kept these and himself busy during five days of the week, returning on the Saturday to St. Andrew's to attend to the Sunday duties there, and getting back to work at St. Peter's on the Monday; and by working in this way, and by supplying seed as well as labour, he succeeded that year in converting seven Indians into little farmers—not very large results it is true; but followed up by Mr. Cochrane's untiring energy, they proved the turning point for that band of Indians from a wandering to a settled mode of life. During the time he was initiating his proteges into the mysteries of agriculture he lived in his own tepee, a tent or lodge made of the dressed hides of deer or buffalo. The following description of Mr. Cochrane's experiences at this time is taken from a little volume, "The Rainbow of the North," by Mr. Tucker.

"At this time there were about two hundred Indians in the encampment, but he could only prevail upon seven of them to attempt cultivation, and even these could not be depended on."

If the weather were bad they would not stir from their tents, and if fine they were as likely to start off on a fishing expedition as to assist in clearing the ground for their own crops.

"One incident is too characteristic to be omitted. Some of the ground was prepared, and Mr. Cochrane wished to send to the Rapids for seed. He applied to the chief for two of the young men to take a canoe and fetch it, while he would ride home and prepare it for them, but though it was for their own use, not one would move, till at last one of the sons of the chief offered to ride Mr. Cochrane's horse if he would take charge of the canoe. Unmoved by the rudeness of this proposal Mr. Cochrane acceded to it, and in a moment the lad was mounted, his blanket thrown over his left shoulder, his hair adorned with a narrow ribbon, streaming behind his back, while his heels were busily employed in urging the horse to its utmost speed. Off he flew as proud as possible, and was out of sight in a minute among the tall poplars, leaving Mr. Cochrane and his servant to paddle the canoe fifteen miles to fetch seed for his own people.

"Thus it went on day after day, till there was as much seed sown as there was ground prepared to receive it, Mr. Cochrane taking every opportunity of bringing forward some portion of Divine Truth, here a little and there a little, as the hearers could bear it.

"Much as Mr. Cochrane suffered from fatigue and anxiety, and occasionally from cold and want of proper food, this residence at Netley Creek was not without its use. It not only brought him to a more intimate acquaintance with the minds and habits of the Indians, but it enabled him to form a more just and encouraging estimate of the work which was going on in his own congregation."

The summer of 1832 was not favourable to the potato crop which was injured by a frost in August, and discouraged the Indians just when they were beginning to enjoy the first fruits of their erratic and somewhat conscripted labours. The barley harvest which commenced September 3rd was more encouraging, and the seven farming Indians got good returns. Four of them at once commenced to feed all the Indians in sight—about two hundred—and in a few weeks the supply was exhausted. The

other three were wiser and made their barley last pretty well all through the winter. Encouraged by the success attending the first trial, fourteen Indians went in for farming in 1833, and from that year until 1857, the list of Indian farmers steadily increased, so that when Mr. Cochrane moved up to Portage la Prairie to devote his entire attention to the work he had been carrying on there "at arm's length" during the five years previously, practically every Indian in St. Peter's was a farmer after the humble fashion of those days.

In 1834 Sugar Point was chosen as a more suitable centre for the Indian settlement than Netley Creek. And by that time the Indians were not only going in cheerfully for farming, but were beginning to build themselves cottages instead of living in wigwams. A beginning had also been made in the education of the children. A school was built, and the children who attended received a substantial meal daily on the five school days of the week. Mr. Cochrane was fortunate in having as teacher and manager of this institution a Mr. W. Hemming Cook, who not only had a perfect knowledge of the Cree, but also thoroughly understood the habits and peculiarities of the Indians, and best of all was of a kindly disposition and sincerely desirous of using his knowledge to the best interests of his pupils.

In Christianizing the Indians according to the foregoing methods the same difficulty was encountered which still confronts those who would promote the comfort and welfare of the Indians by taking them from their wandering tents and placing them in dwelling houses, for in this transition from the well-ventilated almost open-air life in the flimsy tent which can be easily moved to a clean spot, to the pent-up quarters in a house or cottage which has to remain where it is built, there lurks a deadly menace to the health of the poor Indian. Mr. Cook was well aware of all this, and watched his pupils carefully, and as soon as he noticed any of them losing in flesh and vigour they were at once encouraged to go fishing or hunting with their parents; yet notwithstanding these precautions there were a number of deaths from consumption.

Nine months previous to the opening of the church at St. Andrew's the building of a school-house was under way, and the

two buildings were opened about the same time. Up to this time Mrs. Cochrane was teacher, assisted sometimes by Mr. Cochrane when his other duties did not interfere. But with the opening of the new school-house a teacher was engaged to teach the boys, leaving Mrs. Cochrane free to teach the girls separately, an improvement, no doubt, whatever the boys and girls might have thought about it.

The work at Netley Creek already mentioned in this chapter was commenced immediately upon the completion of the church and school at St. Andrew's.

While Mr. Cochrane was building this church and school, another important building programme was being carried out by somebody else just over the dividing line between the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Clement's. This was the building of the Lower Fort Garry by Sir George Simpson.

Of this gentleman it might be remarked that he was by nature not unlike Mr. Cochrane—he was a strong man. He was not just a colonial Governour, but a real Hudson's Bay Governour—a Governour of governours. The building of a second fort only twenty miles from the other, and the bestowing upon it of the same name, would seem to suggest the intention of the abandoning of the first Fort Garry. Such was not quite the intention. It would have been continued for the purpose of supplying the trade of the immediate locality; but Lower Fort Garry, or the Stone Fort as it was called, was to become the emporium of the country. In planning these changes it is believed the aim of Governour Simpson was to have the headquarters of the Company in a more secure location than The Forks. For well he knew that while amalgamation had brought with it a great accession of strength it carried with it no assurance against a revival of old animosities. Only too well had the Metis learned under Nor'-Wester tutelage how to hate a monopoly in the fur trade. With all his astuteness Governour Simpson could not suppose that however great his force of character he could without getting himself and the Company into trouble prevent the Metis from selling their furs across the line, or to others besides the Company if they got the chance of doing so. Not likely that he was under any delusion as

to the real attitude of the Metis towards the Hudson's Bay Company. More likely that he clearly foresaw that as a result of increasing control with Americans there would be increasing hostility against the Company because of its monopolistic policy. Therefore it seemed a prudent move to put at least twenty miles more between the headquarters of the Metis and those of the Company, and there to build on the limestone foundation provided by nature a stone fort with the mouth of whose cannon they might effectively speak with an enemy at the gate.

Here then were two different building programmes being carried out in which the similarity of objective might be given in the word, peace; but the means to that end were so dissimilar—in the one case a church and a school, in the other, that of a stone fort provided with the accoutrements of war—that here again we have a situation of affairs to which the word *anomaly* might not unfittingly be applied. The analysis of these two methods of promoting peace stated briefly is this—by the former means people would become too enlightened to want to kill each other, by the latter, through fear of being killed people would be indisposed to fight. One hundred years have elapsed since this paradoxical situation was in evidence at St. Andrew's and St. Clement's, but it is well on to two thousand years since most Christian natives of the world have had their opportunity to choose between these two methods of handling the situation. But have they not without exception been using both? And if we *are* getting any nearer to the objective, is it because we have been using both? Lives there today any nation which has cause to say *with satisfaction* we stand where we are today because "we went in all we were good for," for the carrying out of big army and navy programmes; or lives there today an empire which has cause to say with humility, we stand where we do because we have mostly remembered that God's way to peace is to go into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature.

In the humble opinion of the writer, were the Christian nations of the world to "come to themselves" and scrap their war vessels and "go in all they are good for" in the practise of good will one towards the other, very soon suffering mortals the world over would get a better conception of "the peace of God which passeth

all understanding" than they are ever likely to obtain by the conflicting methods at present employed.

With respect to the question as to which of the two sites, the Forks or the Rapids, was the more suitable for the headquarters of the Company, possibly Sir George Simpson was right in preferring the latter with a view to security; but when the real question was considered: which was the better site for business, the business for which the Company was formed, then he must have realized that the consensus of opinion was against him, in that other leaders had evinced their preference for the Forks, and had punctuated their agreement in that opinion by building there on the sites respectively chosen, each in his own way and in his own day—Forts Rouge, Fidler, Douglas, Gibraltar and Garry. So after Sir George Simpson and family had passed the winter of 1833-34 in the Stone Fort, there enjoying such up-to-date appliances as bed-warmers, roasting-jacks, *et cetera*, he arrived at the conclusion that, given an equally substantial and comfortable fort at the Forks, only on higher ground than that on which old Fort Garry stood it would be suitable as the main depot for the entire country. And quickly on the heels of this conclusion preparations for the construction of such an establishment were set on foot, so that we may say that the mortar on the second Fort Garry had not long been dry when a third Fort Garry was under way, built by the Colonial Governour, Alexander Christie, who before being promoted to that position had acted as architect in the construction of the Stone Fort. The first Fort Garry was identical with Fort Gibraltar which was given the new name of Fort Garry as a compliment to Deputy Governour Nicholas Garry who visited Red River in 1821 at which date the Hudson's Bay Company were occupying Fort Gibraltar, previously a Nor'-Wester fort. At this first Fort Garry the Company's business in the district was transacted until Governour Christie had finished the Fort Garry of 1835, of which the gate still remains. And there need be no doubt that when the settlers and Indians beheld the massive walls of this fort steadily under construction, they correctly concluded that it would contain the residence of the Governour and be the chief centre of trade, and that the fort

twenty miles downstream would be "the Lower Fort" not only in name but in reality.

Returning now to Mr. Cochrane and his greater work, it may be remarked that up to and including the short period of Governour Simpson's stay in the Stone Fort, Mr. Cochrane when making an entry of a baptism, marriage or burial in the church registers, simply signed his name, "William Cochrane," but that immediately following the said period he signed thus, "Wm. Cochrane, Assistant Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company." There is in this at least the suggestion of a courteous mark of appreciation of the means of grace as afforded by the ministrations of Mr. Cochrane. If the suggestion be correct, the chaplaincy was certainly a very nice souvenir of a pleasant visit; and the monetary accompaniment must have been regarded by the recipient as providential at this particular time when he was engaged in the huge undertaking—the reformation of the habits of the Indians of St. Peter's. And it is just possible that it was due to the encouragement felt in this augmentation of revenue which led Mr. Cochrane at this particular time to commence an afternoon service at St. Peter's in addition to holding morning and evening service at St. Andrew's. So perhaps Governour Simpson may be regarded as pointing the moral—Because you don't see your way to tackle some good work yourself, don't lose a chance of encouraging the man who does.

And now at this stage someone may wish to know how matters were progressing with the Presbyterians. Attention may therefore be drawn to the fact that the fifth occupant of the colonial gubernatorial chair was one Alexander McKenzie who held the position for eight years, and while the writer will not claim that the first syllable of his name—that significant Mac—indicated his nationality and creed, still it is noteworthy that it was during his term of office that the Highlanders once more brought up the question of a minister of their own church, and it may also be noted that the year that Mr. McKenzie was made Governour was the year that the historian Ross arrived in the settlement; and it would perhaps not be unfair to anyone else to give him credit for sponsoring the cause of Presbyterianism on this occasion as he

palpably did in every subsequent instance which offered a small opening for doing so.

The Presbyterians had now for fourteen years had an opportunity of studying Episcopalianism at close quarters; and perhaps it would not be fair to say of them that the more they saw of it the less they liked it. I think, though, it might be correct to state that while they still much preferred their own theories and theology they had learned to love and respect—not Episcopalianism itself—but that which it stood for as exemplified before them in the lives of its missionaries who were, first and last, *exponents of the Christian faith and not any particularism*; and it is not by chance that the missionaries twain, Reverends David Jones and William Cochrane were both men big hearted enough to consider the pious prejudices of their weaker brethren against the use of a liturgy, and therefore in order to remove that stumbling block varied the liturgy with extemporary prayer. They also held week-day prayer meetings, following the practice of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society in London, England, and this, too, was accepted as a great concession; so by way of reciprocation they were to be found regularly in attendance at the Sunday services. And according to a proverb, of which, I feel sure, Scotsmen approve—"If a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well," they no doubt did their best to "pray out of a book." At any rate it is pleasant to contemplate the Anglicans and Presbyterians praying in a church together, and for the present we shall leave them there, while we bestow some attention upon the pioneer school of the Red River Settlement—the one begun at Parsonage Creek by Mr. George Harbidge under the supervision of Mr. John West.

As already stated Rev. David Jones succeeded Rev. John West as incumbent at St. John's. It has also been stated that two years later Rev. D. Jones was joined by Rev. Wm. Cochrane and that during the next two years they conjointly discharged the duties of incumbency. The writer, however, would not undertake to say that during those two years Mr. Jones was chief, but only that he still retained charge of the educational work, being thereby as one might say, the minister of education. And in addition to being joint pastor he did a fine educational work assisted by

Mrs. Jones, who was in charge of the girl's department. And Mr. and Mrs. Jones should therefore stand high in the history of the Red River Academy which grew to be known far and wide as an institution where boys and girls grow up to be ladies and gentlemen, a reputation well sustained when Rev. John Macallum became principal, and in a rare instance where such result was not achieved, the explanation could be found in the character of the pupil or his home environment rather than in that of the Academy.

It is a pleasure to know and to relate that Mr. and Mrs. Jones received from the people they so faithfully served that finest of all requital—their affection and respect. As a pastor Mr. Jones evidently endeared himself to the members of his congregations, including the Selkirk Colonists; for Mr. Ross in his history of Red River, page 130, after admitting denominational differences, adds: "Christian charity obliges us to remark that the faults we have noticed were but slight in the character of a man like the Reverend Mr. Jones. . . . Mr. Jones was a fine and eloquent preacher, tender-hearted, kind and liberal to a fault. And so popular was he on account of the last-mentioned trait in his character, that he was all but idolized in Red River. Some time after he had gone home for the last time, one of the Scotch women happened to be passing the writer's house just as the packet arrived from England.

"What news from home?" said honest Kate to me.

"Oh, nothing particular, madam," said I, "only I hear it reported that your old friend Mr. Jones is coming out again."

"Ah! God bless you for that news!" she exclaimed; and whatever her thoughts were she went on her way delighted."

To the foregoing the writer would simply add, as a sort of paraphrase: "Charity never faileth."

Mr. Jones' success with the school was largely due to the co-operation of Mrs. Jones who as matron and girls' teacher endeared herself to her pupils, a fact to which a tablet which adorns the walls of St. John's Cathedral bears eloquent testimony:

Sacred to the Memory
of

MRS. JONES
Beloved Wife

of

Rev. D. T. Jones

Chaplain to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company
who departed this life

October 14th, 1836

In the 31st year of her age

"Behind the cloud of death

Once I beheld a sun; a sun that

Gilt that sable cloud, and turned it all to gold."

This tablet is a testimony of

Affection

From the pupils of

The Red River Academy

Mr. Macallum was a married man at the time of Mrs. Jones death, and his young wife, Miss Betsy Charles, before marriage daughter of a Mr. Charles, a Hudson's Bay Company officer, had to begin her married life by helping her husband as matron in the Academy, a position in which she several times came in particularly useful, when a break occurred in the succession of lady teachers. The first of these lady teachers was a widow, a Mrs. Lowman, who came out from England but in the course of six months was captivated and became the wife of Chief Factor Bird of Brandon House. The Hudson's Bay Company made an annual grant of \$500 towards the Red River Academy; but it does not appear that there were any complaints from either church or state regarding the fate of the pioneer lady teachers of the Settlement, although it was not only the Academy which suffered from offerings on the hymeneal altar. There was a promising private school opened up at Point Douglas by one Mrs. Ingham, a friend and fellow passenger of Mrs. Lowman, and like her, a widow. And it was not very long before she was persuaded by Chief Factor Robert Logan, purchaser of Fort Douglas, to give up her scholastic calling and throw in her lot with him. And by accepting his proposal she became the mother of the first mayor of Winnipeg.

When Sir Geo. Simpson and Sir. J. H. P. Pelly were reporting to the home Government in 1836 with a view to the renewal of the Company's license to the sole right of the fur trade in the country, they were able to make a creditable showing of the advantages which had been placed within reach of the settlers during the fifteen years following coalition. And they did not forget to mention the schools, saying nothing, however, of the effect upon the principal one, caused by more than one lady teacher giving up her calling because she could not bear to hurt the feelings of a lone Chief Factor pining for her refined companionship.

When one of these marriages took place it certainly was not in keeping with the law of the greatest good to the greatest number. Sir George does not tell us the effect it had on the welfare of the Red River Academy; but Miss Mary Kennedy has well made up for his omission. I quote from her interesting sketch of the early Red River schools.

"In about six months cupid took a hand and Mrs. Lowman became the wife of Chief Factor Bird.

"One day the children were surprised to hear that Mrs. Ingham was to marry Mr. Logan. Then another teacher had to be secured—a Miss Armstrong, also an English lady. She married a widower, Mr. Pruden. The schools went flat after each wedding for it usually took a year to secure another teacher from overseas. A Miss Allan came out, and at the end of her term she returned to Scotland—there were no more widowers to go around."

This paucity in the supply of lady teachers must have been very trying to the principal, Mr. Macallum; but instead of seeking to roll off the burden from his own shoulders to those of some other worker, after eleven years teaching in the Academy he took on additional work by entering the Christian ministry upon the occasion of Bishop Mountain's visit to Red River in 1844. Two years after that event his health began to give way, and he died in 1849 at the age of forty-three, having faithfully stayed on at his post of duty until a successor had arrived. Virtually, Bishop Anderson might be called his successor as he arrived in 1849, shortly before Mr. Macallum's death, and soon thereafter resumed

the educational work of the church in St. John's Parish in similar lines under the new name of St. John's Collegiate School and with the beautifully appropriate motto, "In Thy Light shall we see Light."

Mr. Macallum was educated at Aberdeen University, and was reputed to be a brilliant classical scholar. A successful teacher he certainly was. And it is with feelings akin to amazement that the writer calls to mind the many men he has met who were educated by him, and who almost without exception would comment on his severe disciplinary methods and at the same time extol his merits and success as a teacher, giving one the impression that they gave him credit for having had their interests at heart, and that he was determined to give them a good education even if he had to pound it into them. I cannot recall a single instance of any of them speaking of him with disrespect. But on the other hand, neither can I recall an instance of any of them speaking of him with affection. My own mother as well as her sisters were educated in the Red River Academy during the time that Mr. Macallum was Principal. They are referred to in Healey's book, "Women of the Red River," page 136, as nine daughters of Colin Campbell of Fort Dunvegan, who arrived in the Settlement at one time to attend school, and a writer of the time is quoted as having referred to them as a "boatload of handsome young girls."

Without question, the value of Mr. Macallum's work to this country as an educationist was very great. Many of his pupils went forth from his school to become representative men in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, others became successful missionaries of the church Missionary Society, and others were competent teachers in the parish schools of the Settlement. But to arrive at anything like a true valuation of the benefits which emanated from this school we must not forget those of the gentler sex who also got an education there and who were thus the better qualified when they joined hands with the others in wedlock to be—each of them—a blessing to the man of her choice. So, whatever may be said about Mr. John Macallum, this, at least, can never be said—that "he spared the rod and spoiled the child." In these days milder counsels prevail, and in the opinion of some, so also do the young people. Undoubtedly it is better to rule by love,

but there are cases in which a little birch is useful. Give the dominie a free hand anyway, so that his conscientious pupils will know that he does not flog them because he can't or because they don't deserve it, but because he respects their feelings and hates to do it.

*LIST OF TEACHERS IN THE EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS OF ST. JOHN'S PARISH
RED RIVER SETTLEMENT
1820-1870*

In the compilation of this list by the author, careful comparison was made of such printed or written reports as were available, and these again with written or verbal information supplied by those who had had equal or better facilities of becoming conversant with the subject matter. For this latter information my thanks are especially due to Miss Anna Cowan, Miss Janet Bannerman and ex-Sheriff Colin Inkster.

Parish Day School

Boys and girls in attendance, 1820 to 1825.

Mr. Geo. Harbidge, principal and boys' teacher throughout.

Mrs. Geo. Harbidge, girls' teacher from 1822 to 1825.

Mr. William Garrioch, boys' teacher from 1825 to 1826.

Mrs. William Cochrane, girls' teacher, 1825 to 1826.

Mr. William Cochrane, boys' teacher part time, 1827 to 1828.

Mrs. William Cochrane continued as girls' teacher, 1825 to 1828.

Boys and girls taught together commencing 1829.

Mr. William Gunn, about 1829 to 1832.

Mr. John Gunn, about 1832 to 1836.

Mr. Peter Garrioch, about 1836 to 1837.

Mr. Dominique Pambron, about 1838.

Mr. Peter Jacobs, ending his term of office about 1853.

Mr. Benjamin McKenzie, commencing about 1854.

Rev. Thomas Cochrane, commencing about 1857.

Mr. Thomas Norquay, commencing about 1860.

Mr. William Inkster, commencing about 1863.

Mr. Gilbert Cook, commencing about 1867.

Mr. A. C. Garrioch, 1869 to 1871.

The Red River Academy

An institution like the day school for both sexes *with the difference* that in this the pupils were mostly boarders and the sexes were taught separately.

Rev. D. Jones, Warden and boys' teacher from commencement of the institution in 1829.

Mr. John Macallum takes the position of boys' teacher in 1834.

Mr. Jones retaining position of warden till 1836.

Mrs. David Jones, lady principal from 1829 to 1836.

Assistant teacher to Mrs. Jones for six months, Mrs. Lowman.

Miss Armstrong succeeded Mrs. Lowman and continued teaching after 1836.

Mr. John Macallum became principal and was assisted by Mrs. Macallum as matron on the death of Mrs. Jones in 1836.

Mr. Macallum was principal from 1836 to the time of his death in 1849.

Mr. Lumsden was assistant as boys' teacher.

Miss Armstrong taught the girls under Mr. Macallum's supervision.

Miss Allan succeeded Miss Armstrong.

Miss McKenzie, who commenced in 1846, was last lady teacher in the Red River Academy.

St. John's College School

Bishop Anderson, principal throughout.

The effective work of this collegiate was during the period 1850 to 1856 or 1857.

Mr. Pridham assisted the principal from 1850 to 1852.

Rev. Thomas Cochrane, B.A., was head teacher, 1853 to 1856.

Mr. Colin McKenzie, Bishop Anderson's "first scholar," was for a short time assistant teacher.

St. Crosse Ladies' School

This might be regarded as a sister institution to Bishop Anderson's college school.

Mrs. Mills was principal from 1851 to 1857.

Miss Harriet Mills assisted her mother, and later Miss Mills who married Recorder Johnstone also assisted.

Miss Oldershaw succeeded Mrs. Mills, and this institution came to an end in 1858.

The building in which this school was held was the one occupied by Archdeacon Cochrane before he moved to St. Peter's. It was built by him shortly before. It would seem as if he had designed it for educational purposes, for while he occupied it he had four young men with him, viz: Charles Pratt, Hebron More, Caleb Anderson and Edward McKay, intending to train them for mission work; and the first named did fulfil his expectations as he did valuable work as a catechist at Touchwood Hills. And as for the building it turned out well worthy of the name it bore for besides being for a little while the home of Archdeacon Cochrane with his four stalwarts, and after that a place where ladies moulded girls into ladies, it still later became the home of another Archdeacon and his family, viz: that far-famed warden of St. John's College, Archdeacon McLean, later Bishop of Saskatchewan. There he too had his pupils, for it was the representative building of St. John's College until the close of the seventies.

St. John's College

The institution thus named, which began in 1866 under the initiative of Bishop Machray, may be regarded as a second revival of the efforts of the Anglican Church to render higher education easy of access to the people of Red River Settlement. When the writer was in touch with it the teaching staff was as follows:

Archdeacon McLean, Warden, Classics and Divinity.

Bishop Machray, Mathematics and Church History.

Rev. Samuel Pritchard, English and Primary Subjects.



CHAPTER SEVEN



Council of Assiniboia

AMONG well-known and highly respected persons there are some whose religious convictions are little known to anyone except perhaps their closest friends; and in their defence their friends might say that they did not wear their religion on their coat-sleeves. But surely it is inconceivable that any genuine Christian would go far along the journey of life without finding repeated occasions for satisfying his neighbours by word and action that he accepted the teaching of Christ and his Church, rather than leave them to speculate as to whether he did or did not. A secular calling which omits a religious declaration is little, if any better, than a religious profession which stops short of its fulfilment in practice. Neither in the individual nor in the community can the secular be divorced from the religious for they are parts or phases of the same thing, duty: there is, however, this difference which we shall do well to remember. We may spiritualize the secular all we are good for, but we dare not attempt to secularize the spiritual. And the devout student of history must observe that all through life there is this intimate connection between the religious and the secular, and that the two act and re-act beneficially one upon the other when to each is assigned its proper place and its relative importance is not overlooked; thus only may the soul arise to that perfectly adjusted plane where adverse conditions are harmonized and knotty problems solved in the one way that God made it possible for

them to be solved, viz: by inclining men's hearts to keep His law until they become dominated by His spirit and so learn to live in peace and amity.

The soundness of the foregoing argument may be tested by the two following illustrations which show to what depths humans may sink through the concentration of the mind upon one of these aspects of life to the exclusion of the other. And to anyone who might say, these are extreme cases, my answer would be: "If they do these kind of things in a green tree" they will do it in any other kind, although it may not be conspicuously to the same degree. Satisfied, however, that the rule works out with faultless precision in every case, let no one dare to transgress it.

My first illustration is furnished by that country long reputed to be civilized; but which every once and a while gives birth to a visionary who poises on one foot on the pinnacle of his imaginary temple of fame; or gives birth to a sect which startles the world by a reversion to savagery. I refer to Russia. And for lack of patience we'll leave the Bolshevik genius perched on the pinnacle of the temple of fame, while we devote a little space to the Doukabors, a religious sect which also was a product of Russia, and whose illiterate literalism in the interpretation of Christ's words was pitiful in the extreme. They were persuaded that the way to find Christ was to become as little children, so in the chilly atmosphere of this country they put off their clothing and went forth to find Him: in other words, thinking themselves innocent they became indecent, and gave the police no little trouble rounding them up as so many imbeciles who did not know enough to take care of themselves. Without mentioning any other form of religious obsession, we come now to the second illustration which shows how men—Christian men at that, we suppose—"thinking themselves wise became fools, murderous fools, through allowing themselves to become absorbed with the aspects of the life which now is, unhallowed and untempered with thoughts of that which is to come."

I quote this from G. Mercer Adam's book, "The North-West. Its History and Its Troubles," page 140. This extract is given there to show how our neighbours to the south used to treat the

Indians; and Mr. Adam claims that the following resolution is to be found in the Legislative Journals of the State of Idaho.

*"Resolved that three men be appointed to select twenty-five men to go Indian hunting, and all those who can fit themselves out shall receive a nominal sum for all scalps they may bring in, and who cannot fit themselves shall be fitted by the Committee, and when they bring in scalps it shall be deducted out. That for every buck scalp be paid \$100; for every squaw \$50, and \$25 for everything in the shape of an Indian under ten years of age. That each scalp shall have the curl of the head, and each man shall make oath that each scalp was taken by the Company."

We have now the spectacle of a sect following into a state of aberration through a morbidly concentrated view of the religious side of life; then going on a little further afield we found in another civilized country a judiciary which so concentrated its thought on the secular aspect of life as to persuade itself that the best way to extinguish the Indian title to the country which the Great Spirit had given him was to extinguish the Indian.

In my own way I have been working up to the question, do we, the old Red River and Portage la Prairie settlers and their

*The writer refrained from using this extract in a previous book because it looked too bad to be true. Yet there persisted the question—may it not be true, and, if true, might it not exercise a beneficial influence upon some of the Whites to have called to remembrance the kind of treatment which their supposedly civilized ancestors at times meted out to the Indians. So I took time for a little investigation, writing in the order given below to the four following historical institutions in the United States. (1) The Smithsonian Institution, in behalf of which the Chief, Mr. Sterling wrote: "No one here has been able to run down the reference." (2) Library of Congress, Secretary, Jessica L. Farnum: "We have failed to find the desired material." (3) Montana Museum: "In March, 1863, a company of volunteers was organized in Placerville, Idaho, led by Jeff Standifer to march against the Indians and punish them for the murder of certain White men. There were two expeditions led by Standifer and the Indians were punished severely, and this may be the Company referred to in the quotation. You can read a description of this in Bancroft's History of Idaho." Signed, David Hilger, *Librarian*. (4) The State of Idaho. Fred E. Lukens, Secretary of State: "While it would be necessary to examine too much material to prove or disprove the extract which is purported to have been taken from Legislative files of this State relating to bounties on Indians without having a citation of its location in the journals, I can confidently assure you that it is my belief that there is no foundation in fact for such a statement."

Had the above-named gentlemen been asked a pleasant question, they could not possibly have been more civil and obliging, and the writer is so convinced of their politeness and faithfulness as to believe that they did what they could at the risk of unearthing something *very unsavoury*.

successors make a better use of our opportunities and privileges than did those people to whom reference has been made? How much nearer have we got in placing the things of this world and those of the next in right proportion than had the Doukabors? And do we show in our treatment of Whites, Reds and Blacks a superior conception of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man to what the Doukabors did? Answering for myself I would say, *we certainly do*. But let us not only think that we are getting better and better all the time, but also admit that there is still a lot of room for improvement; and the most encouraging augury I can think of as indicative of our going on unto perfection is that we are cultivating more and more diligently all the time, an improved type of selfishness—that of doing all possible good to all manner of people as the surest way of bringing good to ourselves; and contradictory as it may sound it is nevertheless the truth that the more one carries out the rule the more unselfish he will become. If we say that we are all the time doing good from purely disinterested motives “we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us;” but if we keep on doing good when, where and however we can, one day we shall wake up delighted to find that we have done good for its own sake.

Intrinsically man remains what he always was—an earthy and selfish creature—but with a knowingness which is not from beneath he has improved his family, the human family, which means that his environment is so improved that he can now make a more creditable showing than formerly. Of yore he tried to save his own soul, now with his mass-production, collective-buying ideas he combines with his neighbours in order to save the world, knowing instinctively that He who clothes the lily of the field will see that his soul is not neglected.

The writer's grandparents were North-West and Hudson's Bay Company people, and in the fierce competition of their time, their respective companies did things to each other which I would not do now; but I will not answer for what I would have done in their day. Probably I would have been as well entitled to a share of the blame as a share of the profits, which, however, is not so much an indication of improvement in the man as an improvement in environment. And for the same reason the now united companies

stand out in a better light than they did previous to the coalition, an event which was the effect and the cause of a finer view of life in the continued study of which they might well "forget the things of the past." And it was the gospel which brought about this finer view with its finer results. The gospel it was which taught the people to estimate the greater things of life in terms of spiritual value, and the lesser, as before, in pounds, shillings and pence or made beaver; but not, as before, forgetful of the relative importance of the two.

It was the writer's privilege to write out a copy of Bishop Bompas' annual report to the Church Missionary Society for the year 1875. The Diocese of Athabasca over which he presided, at that time extended from the Athabasca and Clear Water Rivers to the Arctic Ocean, and from the Rocky Mountains to the eastern shores of the Athabasca, Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes. And after mentioning the various centres in this tract of country which were occupied by a missionary, and the total cost of the work being undertaken, he admitted that this might seem excessive compared with the total results shown in the tabulated returns. There were nine missionaries, and the expenditure had considerably exceeded one thousand pounds sterling. The good Bishop, however, wound up his report by stating, in substance, that the money had been well invested, even supposing that only one soul had been saved. And speaking for myself, I would say that when we come to think of how much the whole world is going to profit a man five minutes after he is gone, we'll have to admit that the Bishop did not put it too strong.

After this philosophic dissertation which has somewhat disrupted the consecutive order which an historian should respect, I find out that I interrupted that sequence with a gap of thirty-one years by my references to Bishop Bompas' annual report, as the next item on my schedule was a visit to the Red River by the Sioux, an event which occurred in 1834. There is this, however, to be said about the chronological gap—the subject at each end is the same—the Indian. And at this juncture it might be useful, to the rising generation, at any rate, to state what the relations were at this time and during the three decades following, between the Red River Settlers and the neighbouring Indian tribes. And

here it may be stated that during the entire period of fifty-one years between the inception of the Red River Colony in 1812 and the year 1863 when the Sioux sought protection under the British flag in Red River Settlement, it was the only one of all the tribes of North West America which the colonist had occasion to regard as an enemy, and an enemy it was, consistently, during the period named—an enemy to be feared because it was a neighbouring tribe, but unneighbourly enough to kill and scalp a settler whenever there occurred an opportunity of doing so.

Those who might be classed as neighbouring tribes during the period last named were the Crees, Saulteaux, and the Sioux. And we notice that it was with the two former that Lord Selkirk entered into treaty when he secured a tract of country along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

No doubt in getting the two tribes instead of the Crees only to accept "quit-rent" for this land, the Earl did a good stroke of business; for although the Saulteaux were at the time occupying a part of the country covered by the contract, they were not on that account owners of it if the common law of ages was to be respected because until the year 1790, only twenty-eight years before the contract, there was not a Saulteaux living in the valley of the Red River, or pretending to have his hunting grounds in the vicinity of the river anywhere between Lake Winnipeg and a point some distance south of The Forks. And when in 1790 the first encroachment was made by a movement into Cree territory, it was on the invitation of the Stone Indians, who in that year sent a deputation to Pembina to meet the Saulteaux when they came there to trade. In those days, be it remembered, the Sioux were so keen after scalps that they made no exception in favour of their weaker brethren, the Stone Sioux. And when these latter, in dread of their predatory excursions, invited the Saulteaux to come and occupy the country in the vicinity of the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, they were making a poor return to the Crees through whose generosity they had their own hunting grounds along the Assiniboine River. It was a case of inviting outsiders to come and prey upon their best friends, and the Saulteaux were mean enough to accept the invitation. To the writer it looks as if the explanation of the concerted action of the

Stonies and Saulteaux and, for a time the apparent acquiescence of the Crees, is to be found in the fact that they all so dreaded the Sioux that each was trying to get one or both the others in such a position that a buffer would be provided between it and their common foe. But not long after the agreement with Lord Selkirk was in operation, it became evident to all three tribes that the Hudson's Bay Company and the settlers were getting strong enough to protect themselves and their friends against all comers; and then after two or three hundred pounds of quit-rent tobacco had gone up in smoke, the belated thought came to the Crees that had they not been so good-natured as to have allowed two or three Saulteaux Chiefs to place each his little cross on the Silver Chief's paper, they might have had as much more tobacco to smoke, and I suppose they would feel a little cross. At any rate, these are the words of Mr. Ross:

"The Saulteaux being a party to the treaty gave great umbrage to the Crees, who, in consequence, have repeatedly threatened to drive them back to their old haunts around Lake Superior; and even threaten to this day the colonists, that they will reclaim their lands again unless the Saulteaux are struck off the list altogether. These menaces are often held out, to the no small annoyance and dread of the settlers, lest the threat be some day or other put in action."

Whatever the feeling may have been between these two tribes over this matter, there were reasons why the Crees were not likely to adopt drastic measures to rid themselves of the Saulteaux. First of all there was the similarity of language, so that difficulties between them could be more easily settled than between them and the Sioux. Secondly, the reasons the Assiniboines had been inviting the Saulteaux to come in, had most likely appealed to the Crees at the time the former had committed the offence, and those reasons held good just as long as the two were in the common danger of losing their scalps. For their common good it was therefore wise not to sever diplomatic relations; and the Crees later had good reason to congratulate themselves for being so prudent.

In the party of Sioux whose visit occurred in 1834, there were thirty-six warriors headed by a notorious fighting chief known as Burning Earth. Their visit at Fort Garry was no doubt peaceful so far as the Whites were concerned; but while there a large party of Saulteaux mounted and armed suddenly arrived, when but for the prompt and prudent tactics of the Company's officials a fight would have occurred then and there; or a little later near by, but for the co-operation of the Metis, who escorted them through the danger zone. Two years later a party of two hundred and fifty Sioux paid a visit to Fort Garry. They were led by Wannatah, reputed to be the greatest chief of the whole nation. This visit, like the former, was ostensibly peaceful, and its peaceful ending was, perhaps, as much due to the better preparedness of the Sioux, as to the kindly offices of the Sioux and the Metis, which, as before, were exerted in their behalf.

For the next four years the relation of the tribes one to the other, and to the Settlers, remained unchanged. The Saulteaux and the Sioux continued in a state of war, with the Metis meanwhile using intermediary influence in the interests of peace. They failed, however, and were themselves drawn into the conflict. This happened in the year 1840, and from then until 1844 the Sioux had both the Metis and Saulteaux to contend with. By the last-named date the Sioux became more amenable to reason, and peace was made in the usual Indian fashion. Representative chiefs and braves of the former contending parties sat cross-legged in a circle. Then the man honoured with the first draw rested the pipe on the earth or floor, and when he had taken and emitted a good whiff he raised his eyes heavenward with the ascending smoke, then passed the pipe on to his neighbour who did exactly the same until it had made its round; the solemnity of the right being greatly enhanced by perfect silence and the absence of any movement except what was called for in the receiving, using and handling of the pipe.

What this amounted to was, that for a time, how long remained to be seen; they would have no cause to fear each other; so once more they chased the buffalo in company, and camped and feasted and danced together as though they never had been and never could be anything but the best of friends.

Confident of this a party of Sioux visited Fort Garry after a summer of this pleasant intercourse on the buffalo feeding grounds, and returned to their own country without being molested. During the same autumn a second party visited the Settlement; but one day when they and the Saulteaux were expressing their friendship for each other as well as the differences in their languages would permit some unknown person fired a shot and two Indians fell dead; the one a Saulteaux, the other a Sioux. That ball must have had considerable powder behind it; and there was a good hint of the nationality of the man who fired it, for it first passed through the body of a Sioux, then through that of a Saulteaux, and finished off by nearly killing a White man. (Gun and Tuttle, page 301.) The culprit was found to be a Saulteaux. He admitted and justified the act, alleging that it was paying back the Sioux for having killed his brother and wounded himself in the previous summer; and he was willing that the Whites should do with him as they liked. There was law in the country by this time, so this man was apprehended, tried for murder, found guilty, sentenced to be hung, and the sentence was carried out on the 5th of September, 1845. Thus it may be said that although the Saulteaux had usurped the right to a small portion of the soil belonging to the Crees they made a good return for it by acting as a barrier between the Sioux behind which they could rest serene in a state of blissful passiveness.

If the Sioux fought more with the Saulteaux than with the Crees, it was no doubt mainly due to the latter being easy of access; but whenever a clash did occur the Crees could give a good account of themselves; indeed they were just as courageous as the Sioux although they were at a disadvantage in a fight owing to not having had as much practice as the other. The Sioux in those days enjoyed a reputation commonly accorded the Irish in these days—that of loving a fight just for the fun of the thing.

The Crees were powerful not only numerically, but also in the character and extent of the country which they occupied. That tract of country includes, and in width would be about equal to a line extended from a point twenty miles or so south of Lake Winnipeg to a point one mile or so north of the Saskatchewan, and, in length, from Hudson Bay to the Rocky Mountains. The

three distinctive names applied to the Crees occupying this territory is entirely with reference to location, and does not indicate a separate branch as do the terms, Cree and *Saulteaux*, or, as do the terms—in speaking of the *Siouxan* race—*Sioux* and *Stony*. The distinctive terms applied to the Crees are, (1) *Plain Crees*, referring to those living west of *Lakes Manitoba* and *Dauphin*; (2) *Wood Crees*, applied to those living in the wooded districts north of the *Saskatchewan* and around the forenamed lakes but not extending eastward into the swampy country around *Lake Winnipeg*; (3) *Swampies*, the name applied to the Crees living around *Lake Winnipeg* and eastward to *Hudson Bay*.

Of all the Indian languages of North America probably the Cree is the most expressive, and it is undoubtedly spoken in its best-preserved purity by the *Plain Crees*, and nearly as much so by the *Wood Crees*, but most of the *Swampies* have obviously taken some liberties with the language, especially with the "y" sound, for which the *Swampies* over a small tract substitute the letter "n;" in a larger tract the letters "th," and in the largest of all the letter "l." For example I, thou and he in the *Plain Cree* and its variations would be rendered thus:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| I, thou, he, in plain Cree— | neeya, keeya, weeya. |
| n, variation— | neena, keena, weena. |
| th, variation— | neetha, keetha, weetha. |
| l, variation— | neela, keela, weela. |

During the period of twenty-three years dating from 1812, when the first party of colonists arrived, to the year 1835, it might be said that there was no competent authority in the land for the maintenance of order and the protection of life and property: true, during the latter part of that period there was a council composed of the *Colonial Governour* and a few councillors. There were also a few constables. But the main object in this accretion of numbers was to enable the *Governour* the more effectively to enforce the monopoly of the fur trade. Of this period *Gunn* writes (page 287), "We may say that the community held together without any other rule to guide its members than the golden one, 'to do to others as you would wish others to do to you'," while *Ross* writes of the same period (page 172), "We

might call it a political miracle." The writer would add, that during the last fifteen years of the period "the poor had the gospel preached to them." (Matt. 11, 5.)

But while the gospel in practice may find a place for the "smoothing system," it goes further, and co-operating with Providence "for the punishment of wickedness and vice," clears the way for maintaining whatsoever is in the best interests of humanity. It helps people know what is best to do, and also helps them "to arise" and do it.

One of the great puzzles which confronted the people of this country during the period referred to, was how to know just when they were dealing with Lord Selkirk and when with the Hudson's Bay Company. But in the year 1835 Lord Selkirk's heirs sold out their territorial rights in this country to the Company for the sum of £85,000, and thereafter the Company set about the foundation of a stronger and more representative form of government. Standing at the back of this government as a sort of court of appeal, was the Company's board of directors in London, England. In consultation with this board it was settled that the Colonial Government was to be made up as follows: The Governour-in-Chief and the Colonial Governour were to be *ex-officio* Members of Council, and were to select thirteen leading citizens, who, on receiving their commissions from the Board of Directors in England, were to constitute with themselves a legislative body to be known as the Governour and Council of Assiniboia, and, as such, to have the right to make laws and provide a judiciary empowered to administer said laws in both criminal and civil cases.

When all the appointments had been made, Sir George Simpson summoned the Councillors to meet him at Upper Fort Garry on the 12th day of February, 1835, and upon their compliance at that date he addressed them thus:

"Gentlemen, in order to guard as much as possible against misapprehension within doors, or misapprehension without doors, on the subjects which I am now about to bring under your consideration, I shall thus briefly notice them. From their importance they cannot fail of calling forth due attention, and

from the deep and lively interest you all feel in the welfare and prosperity of the Colony, I am satisfied you will afford me the best of your assistance and support towards carrying into effect such measures as appear to you, best calculated, under existing circumstances to answer every desirable object.

"The population of the Colony is become so great, amounting to about 5,000 souls, that the personal influence of the Governour, and the little more than nominal support afforded by the police, which, together with the good feeling of the people, have heretofore been its principal safeguard, are no longer sufficient to maintain the tranquillity and good government of the settlement; so that although rights of property have of late been frequently invaded and other serious offences been committed, I am concerned to say we were under the necessity of allowing them to pass unnoticed because we have not the means at hand of enforcing obedience and respect on account of the existing state of things.

"Under such circumstances it must be evident to one and all of you that it is quite impossible society can hold together; that the time is at length arrived when it becomes necessary to put the administration of justice on a more firm and regular footing than heretofore, and that immediate steps ought to be taken to guard against danger from abroad or difficulties at home, for the maintenance of good order and tranquillity, and for the security and protection of lives and property."

Members of the First Council

Sir George Simpson, Governour of Rupert's Land, President.

Alexander Christie, Governour of Assiniboia (the Colony), Councillor.

The Rt. Revd. The Bishop of Juliopolis, now of the N. West, Councillor.

The Reverend D. T. Jones, Chaplain to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, Councillor.

The Rev. Wm. Cochrane, Assistant Chaplain to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, Councillor.

James Bird, Esq., formerly Chief Factor, Hudson's Bay Company, Councillor.

James Sutherland, Esq., Councillor.

W. H. Cook, Esq., Councillor.

John Pritchard, Esq., Councillor.

Robert Logan, Esq., Councillor.

Alexander Ross, Esq., Sheriff of Assiniboia, Councillor.

John Macallum, Esq., Coroner, Councillor.

John Bunn, Esq., Medical Advisor, Councillor.

Andrew McDermot, Esq., Merchant, Councillor.

Gilbert Grant, Esq., Warden of the Plains, Councillor.

The Hudson's Bay Company having improved its governmental machinery to the full extent that the times would permit, had in the next place to exploit that machinery in the field of legislation so that laws might be made and a judiciary established to ensure their observance.

As a loyal corporation which took Great Britain as a model in most things, the making of good laws was easy; but the administering of them was another thing altogether. And perhaps it was the consciousness of this which induced the Council of Assiniboia to make the following resolution the first of its enactments:

(1) "That an efficient and disposable force be embodied, to be styled a volunteer corps, to consist of sixty officers and privates, to be at all times ready to act when called upon, and to be paid as follows: Commanding Officer, £20 per annum; Sergeants, £10; and Privates £6 sterling, besides extra pay for serving writs, when not so employed their time to be their own. Of this corps Alexander Ross was appointed commanding officer."

(2) "That the Settlement be divided into four districts; the first to extend from the Image Plain downwards; the second from the Image Plain to The Forks; the third from The Forks upwards on the main river; and the fourth the White Horse Plains on the Assiniboine River; and that for each of the said districts a magistrate be appointed. That James Bird, Esq., be Justice of the Peace for the first district; James Sutherland, Esq., for the second; Robert Logan, Esq., for the third; and Cuthbert Grant,



ARCHBISHOP MATHESON

Esq., for the fourth. These magistrates to hold quarterly courts of summary jurisdiction on four successive Mondays to be appointed according to the existing order of precedence, in the four sections, beginning with the third Monday of January, of April, of July and of October.

(3). "That the said courts have power to pronounce final judgment in all civil cases, where the debt or damage claimed may not exceed five pounds, and in all trespasses and misdemeanours which by the rules and regulations of the district of Assiniboia, not being repugnant to the laws of England, may be punished by a fine not exceeding the aforesaid five pounds.

(4). "That the said courts be empowered to refer any case of doubt or difficulty to the supreme tribunal of the Colony, the court and Governour and Council of Assiniboia at its next ensuing quarterly session, by giving a *viva voce* intimation of the reference in open court and a written intimation of the same under the hands of a majority of the three sitting, at least one whole week before the commencement of the said quarterly session, and this without being compelled to state any reason for so doing.

(5). "That the court of Governour and Council in its judicial capacity sit on the third Thursday of February, of May, of August and of November; and at such other times as the Governour in Chief of Rupert's Land, or, in his absence, the Governour of Assiniboia may deem fit.

(6). "That in all contested civil cases which may involve claims of more than ten pounds, and in all criminal cases, the verdict of a jury shall determine the fact or facts in dispute.

(7). "That a public building intended to answer the double purpose of a courthouse and gaol be erected as early as possible at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. That in order to raise funds for defraying such expenses as it may be found necessary to incur towards the maintenance of order, and the erecting of public works, an import duty shall be levied on all goods and merchandise of foreign manufacture imported into Red River, either for sale or private use, at seven and a half per cent on the amount of invoice, that an export duty of seven and

a half per cent be levied on all goods and stores, or supplies, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Red River."

At the close of the business Governor Simpson intimated that the fur trade would make a grant of £300 in aid of public works in Red River; and such a contribution coming immediately after the formation of the new government was a significant and graceful gesture toward it, plainly intimating that so long as "fur was king" the Council of Assiniboia might consider itself queen; and that under their fostering care and united efforts there was no reason why the various members of the Red River community should not live together in the enjoyment of their common heritage as happily as if they all belonged to one family.

Although the writer had not yet appeared upon the scene when this government came into existence he was very soon after innocently enjoying the benefits of its protection and he grew up with it until it and he reached a period in the history of this country when we had to change or go under.

Naturally I sympathize with the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company or Council of Assiniboia. The two together made a splendid combination which could not be called either autocratic or democratic; and I am persuaded that had the people of the Settlement been in a position to exercise the franchise the composition of the Council in that case would have been less representative of the intelligent portion of the electorate, and also less competent to promote the well-being of the community. It was fortunate for the country at this time that there were two such men as Sir George Simpson and Mr. Alexander Christie at the head of the Company's affairs—two men who seemed to be constitutionally adapted for team work, and who generously and impartially gave the settlers the benefits of their intellectual endowments, and also, of the prestige which was theirs by virtue of their high standing in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.



CHAPTER EIGHT

1835-1844

Progress Under Sir George Simpson and the Missionaries

AN examination of the membership roll of the council of Assiniboia will show that the clerical delegates had one fifth of the representation, the Roman Catholics being represented by Bishop Juliopolis, the only Bishop in the country at that time; and the Anglican Church by Reverend Jones and Cochrane, the only Protestant ministers in the country at that time, showing that it was the prevailing opinion in those days that in any plan aiming at the betterment of the community, success was more likely to be attained if it were carried out with the approval and co-operation of the Christian Church.

I have spoken of fine team-work by the Governours of the Hudson's Bay Company, but even finer work was done sometimes when the team was composed of yoke-fellows, one of whom was a missionary and the other a representative of the aforesaid Company, and who was not necessarily a slave to his secular calling—that of trading furs.

A fine example of this is given by S. Tucker in his book, "The Rainbow of The North," and it is quite in line with the words of Isaiah, "blessed are ye that sow beside all waters," and well justifies the poetic effusion:

"Rouse to some work of high and holy love,
 If thou an angel's happiness wouldst know.
 The good begun by thee shall onward flow
 Through many a branching stream of life, and wider grow.
 The seeds that in these few and fleeting hours
 Thy hands unwearied and unsparing sow,
 Shall deck thy grave with amaranthine flowers,
 And yield thee fruits divine in heaven's immortal bowers."

Sir George Simpson, notwithstanding his manifold responsibilities found time to express in a practical form his interest in the evangelization of the Indians, and evidently did not consider it incongruous that he should help pull the vehicle forward—(the Church designed for that purpose) even though he had to do so hand in hand with one whose religious calling more particularly committed him to that class of work.

It is indeed a fine record that Sir George has left behind him, that while "minding his own business"—that of the fur trade, he did not overlook the "Father's business."

In 1825 he found himself, after one of his rapid and spectacular journeys, on the farther side of the Rockies, and it is not very likely that he talked less effectively to the Indians about furs because he also talked to them about religion; and for the statement that he did so authentic authority may be found in "Rainbow of The North," page 98, *et sequentes*. The following is an extract from these pages.

"In the winter those who can obtain articles of European clothing choose it in preference to their own, but in summer they wear no clothing at all. They are very eager for information, especially on matters of religion; and when Governor Simpson spoke to them on the subject, he found them not only favourably disposed but earnestly desirous of having teachers sent to them to lead them into the knowledge of the 'Master of Life'."

This was Sir George's opportunity to test the reliableness of these natives, and, at the same time, perhaps do a good stroke of business for the church; for, as already stated in substance, religion and business are susceptible of being mixed in a manner beneficial to both, say nothing of the health of the mixer.

Those western Indians showed the Big White Chief they were not "just talking" when they spoke of wishing to know more of the way of life; for two chiefs of Indians living on the banks of the Columbia each entrusted a son to Sir George to be taught at the Mission School of Red River Settlement.

Here then we may say we have evidence of a system being evolved which has turned out very far-reaching in its effects, a system in the formation of which the mind of man took an important part; but who will say that "a divinity" had nothing to do with it? Not the man at any rate who is a believer in Providence and who, with every breath, offers the prayer:

"Guide me O Thou great Jehovah,
Pilgrim through this barren land.
Hold me with Thy powerful hand."

We talk of "the spur of the moment." Does the moment have a spur? Rather attribute the deed, if a good one, to a combined urge which had its inception in a stronger and better mind than that of man. And we talk of luck. Luckless is he who knows not its source, or is minus that luck which is the fruit of honest endeavour. And does it not seem as if the history of missions in British North-America was connected with a charter far greater than that of Charles Second to the Hudson's Bay Company, a charter issued by One whose legal right to do so could not be questioned, and which dealt with weightier things and planned them with a perfect prescience of that which was to be.

Think of it as at least a possibility that when the Infinite Potentate thought fit to extend in fuller measure gospel privileges to the Indian tribes of this benighted part of His dominions, He sent among other advance agents one John West, whose objective was a point midway between the Atlantic on the east and the Pacific on the west, known at the time as Fort Douglas on the Red River, and there with the aid of one George Harbidge brought out from England for the purpose, he was to engage in evangelistic and educational work. Carrying out this plan, a few days after setting foot in the new world which was to be conquered, an Indian lad is entrusted to his care to receive a Christian education at the school which is to be, and as he journeys inland a second

Indian lad is entrusted to his care for the same purpose. In a few weeks he reaches his destination. A few weeks more and the school is underway. And four years from that date the two lads entrusted to the care of Sir George Simpson have joined the other two in the school on the banks of the Red River, where William Garrioch by this time has succeeded George Harbidge as teacher. The attendance is now about forty, or according to the season, about sixty, the boarders mostly Indian lads, and the day pupils mostly children of the Whites or Half-castes. And, later, from these pupils, both Indian and White, there are selected the men who are to go forth as school teachers, catechists and clergymen to engage in the work of the evangelization of the Indian tribes.

Thus the half-way school between the two oceans became a great seat of learning—an institution where the meaning of the greater charter was taught, and the means used whereby its privileges could be placed within reach of the aborigines, who, notwithstanding pitiful boastings and occasional good times, had long been "in darkness and the shadow of death," on the whole, waiting in the cold, hungry, poor and naked. And we who are alive and have beheld these things, and now see these people sitting clothed and in their right mind—we feel that it well became the Anglican Church in the year 1920, the centenary of its institutional commencement in this land, to call together its members and friends at St. John's Cathedral—the site of the first church and school—and there with thoughts on the past, the present and the future unite in singing with might and main, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes." (Ps. CXXIII. 13.)

When we come to think that this is only a little of what has resulted from a man having sown a mustard seed in his field, it is to be wondered at that there lives a man who has not gone and obtained one of these little seeds and planted it.

In the year 1828, three years after the two Indian lads entrusted to Sir George Simpson had been placed in the school at St. John's, Reverend David Jones who had the oversight of the school paid England a visit; but before leaving he admitted these two boys

into the Christian church, baptizing them by the names of Koo-ta-mey and Spogan Garry. During the three years of their stay their conduct had been good and they had acquired a useful knowledge of scripture.

No doubt it will be interesting to a good many people to learn that the great Saulteaux Chief, Peguis, who from the first was a true friend of the Whites, remained unbaptized up to this time, and that too, for a year or so at least, contrary to his expressed desire. The trouble was this—while he gave up, one after the other, those bad habits which excluded him from the privilege of the sacraments, there was one which he did not quite master. Of course, dear reader, you have guessed it. Yes, it was the love of Hudson's Bay rum. That floored him. But at length—no doubt about it—by the grace of God, he was able to pay a visit to Upper Fort Garry and return sober and remain sober. And when he had performed that feat several times, Mr. Cochrane was satisfied that he had at length been enabled to trample under foot the demon of intoxication, and then, no doubt, as much to the satisfaction of Mr. Cochrane as himself, he was admitted to the privileges of full communion with the Christian brotherhood.

Another important question which Mr. Cochrane was called upon to decide soon after Mr. Jones' departure was whether it would be wise to accede to the earnest request of Kootamey and Spogan Garry to be permitted to visit their country; for he feared that when they had enjoyed again the free and easy life to which they had been accustomed they might object to return to school. However, he took their word for it, and to his great joy they returned in the course of a few months, bringing with them five other boys, four of whom were also sons of chiefs, but of different tribes, whose dialects were so different from their own that the only means they had of communicating with them was by signs.

As the scope of this work does not allow for much space being devoted to the history of men and things west of the Rockies, I shall compress into the space of two or three pages a brief outline of the histories of Kootamey and Spogan Garry. Alas! The life of the former in this world was finished soon after Mr. Jones' return from England. He met with a serious accident from the

effects of which he never recovered, and he died in great pain on Easter Monday, 1830. In his state of delirium before death, he imagined he was with his father, and Mr. Jones, who was at his bedside, was deeply affected hearing him explain the way of salvation to him. But short as his life was it was far from fruitless and disappointing; for Mr. Jones and Mr. Cochrane learned after his death that during the time he and Spogan Garry spent among their friends on the Columbia in 1828, they were at great pains to pass on to them the religious instruction which they had themselves received, with the results that some of them were persuaded to observe the Sabbath day, and they all desired to know more about the Christian faith. Of their earnestness in this matter, Mr. Finlayson, an influential Hudson's Bay Company officer, in charge at Fort Vancouver, was so thoroughly convinced that he wrote to Mr. Jones informing him of the splendid opening for mission work in that quarter due to the small beginning made by the two youths during their vacation.

Spogan Garry remained at school till 1832, and then returned to his fellow-countrymen; not, however, under the auspices of the Church in Rupert's Land, as Mr. Jones did not think that he had the necessary change of heart; but he wisely judged that Spogan was really interested in the Christian religion, and that he was not of the sort who would hide his talent in a napkin. He therefore expected to hear about him again, and he did. Mr. Finlayson wrote that he spent much of his time teaching his fellow-countrymen, who in return brought him presents enough to maintain him in Indian abundance. Still later, an American Missionary working among Indians who spoke the same language as the Spogan Indians, wrote Mr. Jones that he had the benefit of an efficient interpreter who had received his education at Red River, and this doubtless was Mr. Spogan Garry himself. At different times the writer heard his father and uncles speak about Spogan Garry, and perhaps it is as well that I cannot recall what they did say about him; but the impression has always stayed with me that he must have been a boy like themselves, no better, no worse, but just a boy. Let us, therefore, charitably believe that he was a manly boy; but who, somehow, did not give his playmates the impression that he was "cut out to be a parson."

And now leaving Mr. Spogan Garry to go on assisting the American Missionary, it will be in order to transfer our attention to Mr. Cochrane, for which purpose we have to retrace our footsteps only two-years back, which brings us to where we left him as described in chapter six—busy as he could possibly be, as usual. That year, 1835, seemed indeed to be an all-round busy one, and full of good works; as it was in that year that Lord Selkirk's heirs transferred their territorial rights to the Hudson's Bay Company; and in that year the Council of Assiniboia came into existence; also Fort Garry number three with its stone wall came into existence; and it was in that year that Mr. Cochrane became assistant chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, and also took on additional work by holding an afternoon service at St. Peter's in addition to morning and evening service at St. Andrew's.

Early in 1836 the regular attendance at the St. Peter's Sunday service was one hundred. And he decided then that there was going to be another church in Red River, although he knew that for lack of funds it would be necessary for him with his own hands to take part in its construction. On mentioning this matter to his congregation at St. Andrew's they were very pleased; so also were the Indians; and Mr. Cochrane, feeling that the latter should be the most interested, and that they were handy to the site and had plenty of spare time on their hands, told them that they might begin on the foundations at any time; but nothing was done until the 10th of June, 1836. On that day Mr. Cochrane himself began the work; and when the Indians saw this they readily joined him. And the parishioners of St. Andrew's who had before expressed their pleasure when Mr. Cochrane announced his plan, now came forward and assisted according to their means, some of them walking twenty-six miles to give an occasional day's work gratuitously. This perseverance in a good cause was the more praiseworthy because it went on in the face of a most discouraging outlook. The year 1835 was a year of prosperity as has been stated; but the year 1836 was just the reverse, in fact was long after referred to as "the bad year." A heavy frost on the 7th of June cut down the wheat and barley, and even the leaves on the trees withered. The barley was killed outright; but a

heavy rain following the frost, the wheat made such good recovery that the settlers began to think they were going to have a good crop of wheat at any rate; but on the 19th August a frost occurred which caused the formation of ice an eighth of an inch thick and the wheat was so badly frozen that the best of it made but poor seed. The buffalo hunters and the fishermen were also unfortunate. The former returned with carts only half loaded, and the latter owing to wet and boisterous weather during the month of October failed woefully to procure the required supply of fish. And still another thing occurred which was as well entitled to the premier place for badness as any of the former. The Company's ship which annually delivered at York Factory the year's supply of goods for the Colony, arrived and anchored there as usual; but it was driven from its moorings, and it being late in the season and the weather stormy the Captain thought it inadvisable to re-enter the harbour, and so returned to England, cargo and all, and that cargo was partly composed of the year's supplies of the missionaries and the trading outfits of the merchants of the Colony. These merchants freighted their outfits from York Factory, but this year their boats had to return empty. The Company boats were partly loaded with goods imported the previous year.

Despite these mishaps the Indians assisted by friends from St. Andrew's, and led by their energetic pastor, finished the church in seven months. Its seating capacity was a little over two hundred; and although the opening took place in the bitterly cold and stormy weather of January 4, 1837, its capacity was taxed to the limit on that occasion. The death of Mrs. Jones occurred only two months before the opening of this church; but notwithstanding this bereavement the writer of the "Rainbow of The North" was able to refer to Mr. Jones as sharing with Mr. Cochrane and the others in the joy of the occasion.

In chapter six it has been told how Mr. Jones endeared himself to all classes of people with whom his duties brought him in contact. And now it has to be recorded that in the year following this church opening he took his final departure for England. And one can easily imagine how sorrowfully he would do so, for to one who had shown himself susceptible of a high and holy love as

he had, and found it to be the constraining spirit in the community in which he had lived and worked, it was not possible to go away from it all and not feel sorrowful; for what more does such a man desire on earth, and what more can heaven itself have in its possession to offer him than a high and holy love.

When Mr. Jones left for England he had been fifteen years in the country—the only clergyman during the first two years, and he and Mr. Cochrane the only two during the next thirteen years. And as already told, he resumed sole charge of St. John's and St. Paul's after Mr. Cochrane moved down to St. Andrew's; and now, on his departure for England, the care of all the churches devolved upon Mr. Cochrane for a period of fourteen months.

Of the good it can be truthfully said that the harder they work the happier they are; and if the writer had to take a chance and say which were the happiest days in Mr. Cochrane's life he would "lay to it" on those of the fourteen months in the years 1838-39 when he was doing a two-man job. For even in these days of good roads and quick and comfortable means of locomotion, no man would be called upon, except in an emergency, to attend to the spiritual needs of a population of sixteen or seventeen hundred souls settled over a stretch of country some thirty miles in length. But Mr. Cochrane seemed to accomplish the harder things of his day, and to do so without stretching himself beyond measure. It was all in the day's work, and his strength was in accordance.

Nevertheless he was probably devoutly thankful when Rev. John Smithurst arrived in 1839 and he was able to turn over to him the Indian work at St. Peter's; and I dare say—putting "the cause" before himself—he was not the least bit sorry when Rev. Abraham Cowley arrived in 1841; and as Mr. Cochrane was not temperamentally averse to leadership, and was entitled to that honour by seniority in age and office, facts which the Church Missionary Society did not overlook, we may be sure that the stationing of the recruits rested very much in his hands; and to the writer it looks as if this matter was attended to with a greater regard for the success of the work than the comfort of the workers, including Mr. Cochrane himself. It was important that the one

church of the four which was planted especially for the benefit of the Indians should have an ordained missionary stationed there as soon as possible, therefore the first to arrive was placed there. But when the second recruit arrived, it might seem that it would then have been more conducive to the welfare of the church as well as the workers that the Upper Church, which was the main centre of the Settlement, should be occupied. Under the circumstances that could not well be. Mr. Cochrane could not well leave St. Andrew's, while his duties as chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, called for his frequent attendance at the Upper Church; and as Mr. Cowley was not in priest's orders, it was an advantage that he should not be unnecessarily distant from St. Andrew's. Therefore he was stationed at Middle Church, and that probably on the understanding that he was to be available for work in the Indian Mission field whenever there was an opening in that direction.

Two openings occurred the very next year, one at Apina Mootang (Saulteaux for partridge crop) Lake Manitoba, and the other at Cumberland Lake, north of the Saskatchewan River. Both places were occupied the same year (1842), Mr. Cowley being located at Partridge Crop and Mr. Budd at Cumberland Lake. The Indians among whom Mr. Cowley worked at Partridge Crop were Saulteaux. The members of this tribe have perhaps been less amenable to the gospel than those of any other tribe in North-West America, and Mr. Cowley's experiences were so discouraging that at the end of five years the abandonment of the mission was under discussion by the Church Missionary Society. When the Indians found out this they came to Mr. and Mrs. Cowley begging them to stay on, and making fair promises for their children because they were at the impressionable age, but excusing themselves as being grown-ups, saying: You came too late for us; had you come when we were children we might have been good Christians by this time. It is hardly likely that the Cowleys were seriously impressed with their logic, and that they regretted not having come sooner; but whatever it was, something did impress them, most likely the spontaneity of regret evoked by their contemplated departure. Surely, thought they, some of the seed must have fallen on good ground. And, at any rate, it

is no easy matter to take leave of those who have wished that it might not be, and who have oft given the friendly hand-clasp and shared with themselves the community of tears and laughter. And so Apina Mootang was not closed. Our missionary stayed on for nine years longer, not leaving until 1863; by which date results were sufficiently encouraging to justify the continuance of the Mission. Mr. Stagg replaced Mr. Cowley, and Mr. Cowley replaced Mr. Cochrane at St. Peter's.

Although the writer was born only one year before the appointment of a Bishop he is able to speak with assurance of that and some contemporaneous events, such as Mr. Cowley's stay at Fairford (Partridge Crop); for beginning with the second year of his incumbency my father assisted him in the capacity of school-teacher and interpreter for three years. They both spent their early married years at Fairford together, and during the three years mentioned my two older brothers were born.

My mother often told us children stories about those years at Fairford; and of how some Indian would call of a long winter evening, sometimes to have my father write a letter for him to some absent relative.

Notwithstanding Mr. Cochrane's magnificent constitution, the strain placed upon it by the manifold and arduous duties which he undertook, began at length to affect his health; and the Society advised him to take a well-earned rest and spend a year on a visit to England; but he turned down the offer, stating that he "feared lest the comfort of an English home should withdraw his affections from his few poor sheep in the wilderness." But most likely that was only a modest and polite way of disposing of the matter. The Society's income, then as at present was largely made up of collections and donations from all kinds of people, some of them very poor; and although most likely any of them would have put down a few more pounds or shillings or pence if they knew that the extra subscription would mean a holiday for Mr. Cochrane he knew that they had not subscribed on any such understanding, and that although the Society was within its rights, and no doubt acting wisely in offering him a good time; when he viewed the matter in its other aspects—for instance that the cost to the

Society of its kindness to him might, to just that extent, reduce its ability to fulfil its obligations to its other agents, and, in general, carry out the purpose for which it had come into existence, he resolved to retire to Canada, and tendered his resignation. Possibly he might not have taken this step had the revenue of the Society for a few years past not been insufficient to meet expenditures. This shortage of revenue must have begun about the year that Mr. Cochrane arrived in the country, for in the year 1830, there appears this item in the Society's accounts:

"Rev. W. Cochrane's arrears of salary which had accumulated four years, £54, 8s, 0d." He had been willing to carry on, on part pay; but when it came to part health, he begged to be excused.

It was in 1842 that Mr. Cochrane tendered his resignation, and after having done so, while he was awaiting the appointment of his successor before leaving with his family for Canada, the startling and disheartening news reached the missionaries that owing to lack of funds the Society was obliged to retrench, and in the case of North-West America there would have to be withdrawal from all out-lying stations. It meant that the new missions at Fairford and Cumberland—and with them the policy of expansion which had only just been inaugurated—were to be abandoned, for the time being, at any rate.

As may be supposed this was very bad news for the missionaries, as well as for those who were receiving the benefit of their services. (I shouldn't wonder if Mr. Alexander Ross himself felt bad and wrote about it.) At any rate, the Society heard about it—in common parlance—"good and plenty." And no one had a better right to be heard in the matter than Mr. Cochrane. He was the man of the day whose every word carried weight, especially with the Society; for he was a living argument, and a valuator of souls as near as any human can be, and among other things which he wrote the Society there occur these words: "Thousands of pounds are not equal to one soul." Perhaps that remark was in Bishop Bompas' mind when in 1867 he wrote the letter which it was the writer's privilege to copy. To such men words like these are not mere professional platitudes, but the result of a solemn reckoning

of their Master's meaning when He said in substance that one soul—a man's own—should be of more value to him than the whole world.

There is a crisis in the affairs of men which appeals to the true Christian as a golden opportunity to test the nature of his faith. At this particular time Mr. Cochrane underwent such a test, and came forth as gold tried in the fire. He took a chance regarding his health and temporal reward; but refused to take any chances on the one soul—either his own or that of his neighbour. So he withdrew his resignation, and for two more years he actually carried on, *during which period* he received no payments from the Church Missionary Society on account of salary, making the £100 per annum received from the Company for services as chaplain, cover actual necessities of himself and family. One may well suppose that when the friends of the C. M. S., "at home" heard of this case of heroic economy it had the effect of loosening up the purse-strings of its friends, and the next year there was such an augmentation of the Society's funds that for the time being nothing more was heard about retrenchment.

A little way back in using the figure—gold tried in the fire—the writer had no thought of an actual or literal fire; but Mr. Cochrane's faith was subjected to a fiery trial both literally and metaphorically. Besides the handicaps of poor health and inadequate stipend, a fire occurred in the Mission establishment at St. Andrew's in 1844, and the barn, which at the time was full of wheat, and the stables and other out-buildings were completely destroyed. But that which gives a community the opportunity to comfort a great soul is well worth to him, to say nothing of themselves, the price of a fair-sized holocaust. Mr. Durican Finlayson, just newly elevated to the position of Colonial Governour, came forward and offered him everything he could want to repair this calamity. And if there was lacking some real opportunity to express by united action their sympathy and esteem for their pastor, the St. Andrew's people had it now, and they rallied around him, and by subscriptions in wheat and labour, made good what he had lost.

And if troubles don't come singly, no more do mercies. No sooner had there been made good to him through the generosity

of his parishioners that whereof the fire demon had robbed him, than there occurred an event which was highly encouraging to the church workers in Rupert's Land. This was a visit from Bishop Mountain, Bishop of Montreal. He travelled from Montreal in a birch-bark canoe over the route regularly in use by the Nor'-Westers up to the year 1821. This distance is eighteen hundred miles, and this was covered in thirty-eight days, being a daily average of forty-one miles. He arrived at St. Peter's in the Indian Settlement June 22, 1844.

Few visits to this country were more profoundly impressive and useful than was this visit of Bishop Mountain. This was, as we might suppose, for three reasons: (1) the man's office; (2) his personality, and (3) the character of the account of this visit which he allowed to be published.

The reports of the country which heretofore had reached the civilized world had sometimes been of a very disquieting nature, and sometimes of such an obviously partizan character as to be unworthy of acceptance.

This was welcomed as reliable, not only by those distant from the field of operation, but just as much by those who were within it, because it gave these latter a chance to see themselves as others saw them. The Christian people of Red River Settlement did not know how much good they were doing "all together" until someone from far away came and let them know. And then, no doubt, even Rev. Abraham Cowley was made glad, because allowing that it had not been his good fortune to find the *Saulteaux* of Partridge Crop impressionable, he had done what he could and contributed "his little bit to the aggregate success."

Here follows a brief outline of what Bishop Mountain found the church doing in Red River Settlement on the occasion of his visit.

He had hoped to reach the St. Peter's Indian Mission on the Saturday evening of June 21st, but was prevented from doing so by a violent storm on Lake Winnipeg. It was therefore not until Sunday morning a little before church time that the parsonage was reached. What he saw then I give in the Bishop's own words:

... Around were their humble dwellings with the commencement of their farms; cattle were grazing in the meadows; the modest parsonage with its garden, and the simple but decent church, with the school-house as its appendage, forming the leading objects in the picture, and carrying on the face of them the promise of blessing. We were amply repaid for all the trials and exposure of the night. My chaplain naturally felt as I did, and my servant, an Englishman, to whom everything in the journey was new, told me afterwards that he could hardly restrain his tears. Nor was it a worthless testimony that was rendered by one of our old *voyageurs*, a French-Canadian Roman Catholic, when, addressing my servant, he said, 'there are your Christian Indians; it would be well if all the Whites were as good as they are.'

"We were greeted by Mr. Smithurst at the water's edge; and having refreshed ourselves under his roof we proceeded to church. There were, perhaps, two hundred and fifty present, all Indians; and nothing can be more reverential and solemn than the demeanor and behaviour of these people in public worship

"The Morning Service is in English, but the ~~Lessons~~ are rendered into the Indian tongue by Mr. Cook, the school-master, who also rendered my sermon, sentence by sentence. . . . I visited the Sunday School and found a large attendance

"The day altogether was one of extraordinary interest."

The Bishop then speaks of the confirmations he held at each of the four churches. The number of the confirmed in the whole amounted to eight hundred and forty-six, and would have been about one thousand had not many of the candidates been absent. Some were engaged in the buffalo hunt on the prairies and others were gone with the annual boat to York Fort.

The Bishop was highly pleased with the proper behaviour of all the confirmees. He speaks particularly of a class at St. Andrew's, of which he writes:

"I was much struck by the correct and serious deportment of about seventy young girls, who were brought together without their mothers or elders of any kind to restrain them; and I could not help thinking it would have been difficult to collect the same number in an English parish who would have preserved the

reverence which these girls did, even in the vacant intervals before and after the service, and during the calling over of their names by Mr. Cochrane."

On this visit Bishop Mountain also exercised his episcopal authority by admitting Mr. Cowley to Priest's orders, and Mr. John Macallum, principal of Red River Academy, to both Deacon's and Priest's orders at the same time. In all he spent seventeen days in the Settlement, during which the inhabitants vied with each other in showing him all manner of kindnesses.

As may be supposed the opinions expressed of his churchmanship, considering the heterogeneous character of the inhabitants, were of an extremely varied character. And it could hardly be otherwise; for a certain proportion of those who were at this time Anglicans, were the offspring of men who had come to the country in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and who were at the time members of the Presbyterian or some other church. Remembering also that even those who were Anglicans both by descent and usage had learned to regard Mr. Cochrane's style of service as the best to be desired—it was certainly to be expected that when these beheld a chaplain bear the crozier or pastoral staff in advance of the Bishop, their comments afterwards were not likely to be expressive of approval and admiration.

Quite a number of the writer's relatives of the preceding generation were confirmed by Bishop Mountain; and one of the most devout of these, I have no doubt; one of the seventy girls who were confirmed at St. Andrew's, told me that she did not like the crozier, and did not think that it helped. And while I intrude no opinion, and abstain from irreverent lightness, which would be equally unpardonable, I would go as far as to say—and I hope to be pardoned—that, taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, it might have been just as wise to have left the crozier at home.



CHAPTER NINE

1844-1854

Arrival of Bishop Anderson

THE statement was made in the previous chapter when speaking of the occasion of Bishop Mountain's visit to Red River Settlement, that while the population was then largely of the Anglican persuasion, a certain proportion of these were Presbyterians when they arrived in the country, and that they afterwards joined the Anglican Church, with their families who were country-born. The statement was made advisedly, and it has occurred to me that it might be as well to elaborate somewhat upon the subject before leaving it for good. For I have discovered after discussing this matter with some of the best informed of my fellow-countrymen, that a re-statement of the main particulars will not by any means be superfluous.

And first of all it may be as well to remind the reader that at the period whereof I write, nomenclature as regards the race of the Whites occupying the country was not at all well established. In terms which were of very broad significance the inhabitants were divided into French and English. The former included all Canadians and all others in this country who were either pure French or of French extraction, while the latter included all who came from the Old Land, or were of English, Scottish or Irish extraction. This was at least a polite classification, which is more than can be said of other attempts which fall flat in the matter of refinement, while in the matter of accuracy it (Half-breed) may at one time have been accurate enough, but ever since, with every successive generation has been departing further and further

from the facts. And there is another sense in which the name is inaccurate—the descendants of those who in the wide or general sense were called English, were, according to the facts Scotsmen, for they were descendants of officials and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, and all but a very small number of these were Scottish. And this was the class of settlers that Bishop Mountain found in 1844, settled on the banks of Red River, and who, from the manner in which they accepted confirmation, must have been—with the exception of the Parish of Kildonan—almost, if not solidly Church of England.

And now comes the question, in the answer to which lies the most illuminating part of my elaboration.

If the settlers on the banks of the Red River all the way from The Forks to the northern limit of St. Andrew's Parish were largely Scottish, how was it that in 1844 those of the Kildonan Parish were entirely Presbyterian, while those of the Parishes of St. John's, St. Paul's and St. Andrew's were almost entirely Church of England? The explanation is simple. The Kildonan Settlers were protégés of Lord Selkirk, while the settlers in the other three parishes comprised those who had been officials or laborers in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, including their families, who were country-born. Environment made it more practicable for the former to continue in the faith to which they belonged, and the expectation of a minister of that faith encouraged them to wait until their desire was fulfilled. With those resident in the other parishes named it was very different. As has been said, they also were Scottish, but being Lowlanders were of a different temperament. What, however, made the real difference was the different conditions under which they came in contact with the new world, the contact was made more individually. And while like the Crofters they arrived Presbyterians, with most of them there was from the start the prospect of having to content themselves with being simply Christians, or, if they preferred it, becoming Anglican Christians. Let it also be remembered, not only were some of these men real Christians, but some of them were men of education and ability, who, in the position they held in the Company's service, annually sent to headquarters reports which were models of perfect book-keeping,

beautiful penmanship and fine composition. And in addition these men had to exercise their talents religiously, we might say, denominationally. For the rules of the Company required that at any post where there were a few Protestant employees, it was to be considered a duty for the officer in charge to read every Sunday the Church of England service as contained in the book of Common Prayer.

When these employees in the interior learned in this way that the approved church of The Honourable Hudson's Bay Company was the established Church of England, they knew what they had to expect, when, as many of them intended, they retired to become settlers on the Red River; and when that day came they fell in line with what was being done under the auspices of the Company through their chaplains Reverends D. Jones and W. Cochrane; so they identified themselves with one or other of their congregations, and sent their children to the day and Sunday Schools, knowing that their own loving efforts to have them brought up religiously and virtuously would there be gladly supported. Among them all, "continuing Presbyterians" were very few and far between. It has occurred to the writer, however, that for some reason or other—perhaps the sight of Bishop Mountain's crozier—the thought must have found a place in the minds of at least a few of them, that some day perhaps, the Anglican Church in Red River might not be sufficiently Protestant; for about forty years after the Bishop's visit, a good old man, son of one of those formerly Scottish Presbyterians, said to the writer: "My father told us children that if the day ever came that the Church of England in Red River fell away from what it was then, and they had to join some other church, they were to go back to the church of their forefathers." I am glad to say that this particular son did not seem to have had any occasion to leave the Anglican fold, as he died therein at an advanced age. A brother of his, however, thinking perhaps that he could follow his father's advice, and even go one better, did leave the Anglican Church—but only to turn *Methodist*.

And now going back a little we resume the story of Mr. Cochrane's labours where we left off.

It will be remembered that at the time of Bishop Mountain's visit he was in poor health, on account of which he had decided to retire to Canada, and that notwithstanding this decision and his reason for it, he had been carrying on for two years without having received anything from the Church Missionary Society on account of salary. Then to cap the climax there occurred a fire at the church establishment at St. Andrew's, which reduced all the out-buildings to ashes, including the barn which contained the year's supply of grain. Despite all this he kept on for two years more, until he had full assurance that his successor, in the person of Rev. R. James, would arrive at St. Andrew's in the autumn of 1846. And only then did he feel at liberty to leave, which he did in the month of June, leaving the Rev. W. Smithurst in charge of this parish as well as the Parish of St. Peter's until the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. James.

Mr. Cowley thus describes the parting between Mr. Cochran and his congregation.

"Sunday, June 14th: The trying hour was come. Never do I expect to forget the last look which some of the people gave their pastor, as they retired from the church where, from its first erection they had heard the voice of him whom they now should hear no more. Their hearts were too full for utterance; and the only expression they could give to their feelings was a flood of tears, as each came up, embraced his hand, and turned away without a word.

"June 15th: Early all was bustle, the dawn was seized upon for prayer. . . . A considerable number awaited him at the water's edge, and received his final blessing. My own spirits were overcome, and my inmost soul was pierced."

Long before his departure for Canada the congregation of St. Andrew's had outgrown the capacity of the church. Only three-fourths could gain admittance, and the school children could never be present. He therefore planned to have a larger church, and to build it of stone. This church he actually commenced in the summer of 1845, the summer intervening between Bishop Mountain's visit and his own departure for Canada. The members of his congregation entered with enthusiasm into the undertaking,

and although many of them had no money, they all contributed manfully in labour and material. And just when the need of cash was beginning to be felt, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company made a donation in that form of fifty pounds sterling; and soon after, his son, Thomas, who was in England for education, sent him thirty pounds which had been collected for him by a clergyman there.

On the arrival of Mr. James there were as before three clergymen in the Settlement to attend to the educational and religious work in the four parishes; and this was done much as before. Mr. Smithurst, as Incumbent of St. Peter's, took one of the Sunday services at St. Andrew's; Mr. James as Incumbent of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's gave a Sunday service at each of these parishes; and Mr. Macallum, Incumbent of St. John's attended to all ministerial duties there, in addition to his duties as Principal of the Red River Academy.

And now, kind reader, may I ask that you follow Mr. Cochrane in mind—and no doubt you will with admiration and sympathy as well—to the comfortable city of Toronto, where, relieved of the arduous toils which were his in Red River, he rests himself a while and is supplied with food suited to his condition, the result of which is that, in a very short time, his wonderful physical strength and correspondingly recuperative powers respond to this more favourable treatment of himself, and as he goes on getting better and better all the time, his thoughts revert to the unfinished work in the northwest. And while this is going on there reaches him an invitation from the Hudson's Bay Company to return to Red River and serve as chaplain at Upper Fort Garry. Need it be said, he gladly accepted the invitation, and returned to the settlement the next year, 1847. And it is equally needless to say that when he did return it was in the same duplex capacity in which he had left—that of missionary of the Church Missionary Society as well as chaplain to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company.

It is most likely that it was by agreement of Church and State, *i.e.*, the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company, that Mr. Cochrane was asked to return to the country.

and that when he did return he was stationed at St. John's, where was located the Red River Academy, an institution in which they were mutually interested; and just at this particular time it was desirable that its principal, Rev. John Macallum, should be relieved of some of his onerous duties, as his health was failing. Mr. Cochrane therefore, at once assumed responsibility for the discharge of the ministerial duties of the parish. But as though he felt that his restored health called for a wider sphere of activity if it was to remain restored, he resumed the oversight of the construction of the stone church at St. Andrew's, which, during his absence in Canada, does not seem to have made much progress. In addition to this, he was at the same time building himself a commodious dwelling house at St. John's, which, on the arrival of Bishop Anderson, was converted into a ladies' school, and known as St. Crosse.

Soon after Bishop Anderson's arrival, Mr. Smithurst retired to Canada, and Mr. Cochrane then moved to St. Peter's and took charge there. But before these changes took place the church at St. Andrew's had been finished. It was opened and consecrated on Wednesday, December 19th, 1849. The members of the congregation had expected to have it finished by the time the Bishop arrived; but having failed, notwithstanding their faithful efforts, backed up we may be sure by Mr. Cochrane and the Incumbent, the Bishop's first service in the country, although it was in St. Andrew's, had to be in the old church, some ten or eleven weeks before the opening of the new. At that service in the old church, one hundred and sixty-seven partook of holy communion, and as the seating capacity of the church was only three hundred, probably most of the people were outside; for in his report the Bishop states that they crowded around the doors and windows. And, in passing, it may be remarked that, once more they saw a Bishop, but this time no crozier.

From correspondence between Mr. Cochrane and the Church Missionary Society which is still extant, it would appear that there was under consideration, at the time of his move to St. Peter's, the question of extending missionary operations westward by the establishment of a new mission somewhere west of ground already covered; and acting upon instructions received from the

Society, he made a journey of investigation westward going as far as Fort Ellice. According to a traveller who passed through Portage la Prairie some years later, this occurred in 1850. This was the year he moved to St. Peter's; and if the journey was not made that early, it was not made any later than the year 1851; for in his report to the Society at that date, he spoke of having examined the country westward as requested, and of having decided upon Portage la Prairie as the most suitable site for the proposed new mission. From that date, therefore, he is to be regarded as having—figuratively speaking—staked out a claim at Portage la Prairie in behalf of the Anglican Church and civilization, to which he attended by proxy and occasionally in person, until he could be spared from the work at St. Peter's.

On taking charge at St. Peter's, he found conditions there in the matter of church accommodation, much the same as had been at St. Andrew's before the erection of the stone church. The Indian congregation had long since outgrown the wooden church he had built for them in 1836. So, as he had done at the other place, he set about doing here. He built a larger church, and built it of stone.

And now after having given much attention to church affairs, following upon the description of the Council of Assiniboia as contained in chapter seven, I propose for a little while to write general history, from which it shall be seen that the aforementioned council functioned creditably and with decidedly more eclat than did the "smoothing over" authority which it superseded.

As the writer sees it, the transition in this country from a state of savagery to one of civilization, was made in three stages, which might be called epochs. The first began in 1670, the second in 1820 and the third in 1835. During the first, which lasted one hundred and fifty years, there was no organized effort put forth to advance the social or spiritual welfare of the inhabitants; in the second, which lasted fifteen years, educational and religious work were established; and, in the third, commencing in 1835, we have had the benefits of legislation, with its usual concomitant, a judiciary; and no doubt to help us keep right on to the journey's

end we shall need the combined aids severally enjoyed during the three forenamed epochs—intuition, instruction and restriction.

The Red River inhabitants used these aids, and so did the Hudson's Bay Company. But the latter desired them with a reservation—the retention of its monopoly in pelts; and there was the rub. For "the people" have always regarded monopoly as an evil, as experience has taught them that power entrusted to a person or corporation is so liable to be abused. Yet when they reflect upon the messes they have gotten themselves into in their laudable endeavours, at governing themselves, there are times when they are tempted to entrust that responsibility to somebody else, providing that they can get sufficient guarantees that the said somebody will be both *honourable* and competent. But, even at that, when the time comes when they are called upon to take their medicine, it will develop that they also have had reservations—they expected to be healed painlessly.

Allow that monopoly is an evil, under certain conditions, it is a benefit, and those conditions existed when the Council of Assiniboia was formed. And there is no cause to doubt that by this time the Hudson's Bay Company clearly foresaw that the gradual abandonment of its monopolistic policy was in its own best interests as well as those of the people, and allow that the change then initiated of a more generous policy was more from necessity than choice, no one should on that account begrudge it a meed of praise for the course it pursued, in which I am sure the element of benevolence was not lacking; and the element of benevolence entered not only into the initiation of the new policy, but as much so in its gradual application: for it was in the best interests of the Indian tribes that the fur monopoly should not be abruptly removed, but gradually, as the Whites were in a position to bestow advantages upon them greater than those whereof they had been deprived.

The Council of Assiniboia certainly did not end the fur monopoly; but raised it instead to a higher level, where it was more exposed to higher criticism, and had to walk circumspectly; and so, to lovers of sport on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel, it provided game even more worthy of their skill and courage

than formerly; and their sense of humour must have been tickled by the seven and a half per cent duty charged upon all exports and imports as set forth in article seven of the enactments of the Council of Assiniboia.

Number six of the Council's first enactments, which provided for trial by jury, is said to have been very popular with all sections of the people; and to the Metis whose representation in the Council consisted of but two members out of the fifteen, viz: the Bishop of Juliopolis and the Warden of the Plains, it must have been appreciated as a sort of Magna Charta, for it held out to every adult male French Half-caste of good standing the prospect of hearing himself speak some day *ex officio*, on some question affecting the public weal.

With regard to the Hudson's Bay Company charter; to those who were *of* or *for* the Company it was a bulwark of monopoly; but to those who were *against*, it was a mere bulrush, while to a disinterested party thoroughly conversant with the English language and having the further advantage of being a lawyer, very likely the document is regarded as a masterpiece of conveyancing, because the British Government having decided to lease certain territory to the Hudson's Bay Company, of which territory it was unable to give an accurate description, it nevertheless gave such a lease, and that without stultifying itself or misleading the lessees, who perfectly understood that the lessor was not of the sort who would couch his meaning in language of ambiguous import. However, by the time the amalgamation occurred some amendment of the charter was obviously in order. This was suggested by the growing opposition to the fur-trade monopoly, which was bound to grow all the faster, and the sooner get beyond control, while it looked as if the monopoly was to endure forever; therefore an amendment to the charter was agreed upon according to which, thereafter, the monopoly would only continue for a period or periods as agreed upon by the contracting parties; and for the first, a period of twenty years was fixed upon. This was regarded as having terminated in 1838, and a renewal was then agreed upon for another twenty years.

When the original document was amended in 1821, the contracting parties were by then able to define more exactly what

soil in North America was British, and in the amended charter the land leased included that lying west of the Rockies; so that from then on the Hudson's Bay Territories extended from sea to sea and from the forty-ninth parallel to the North Pole.

To rule as a monopoly over this gigantic territory was a serious undertaking; and no doubt Sir George Simpson had in mind the rights of the Company as well as those of the community, when in his speech preceding the formation of the Council of Assiniboia he spoke of rights of property having been of late frequently invaded and offences committed which had been allowed to pass unnoticed; "and that the time had at length arrived when it became necessary to put administration of justice on a more firm and regular footing than before."

No doubt when making the remark about offences recently committed, there would intrude into the Governour's mind the recollection of a very anxious time through which the residents of the fort had recently passed, due to an incident which had occurred there, in which an official of his own name had prominently figured.

In 1834 the accountant at Fort Garry, was a Mr. Thomas Simpson; and his duties in that capacity brought him in frequent contact with those of the Metis who were employed as voyageurs for the annual trip to York Factory or Long Portage. These men were paid in part before the trip was made, usually according to a fairly well established system—one instalment on the approach of winter, a second at the Christmas and New Year season, a third before leaving in summer and the final payment after the voyage was made.

It was when dealing with these boatmen at the time of advancing them the instalment for Christmas, 1834, that Mr. Simpson's temper got the better of him. After having successively paid out the money allotted to a number of these boatmen it came to the turn of one of them named Larocque, for whom—to employ the common parlance of the present day—Simpson seems to have had very little use: so when Larocque asked for his money the answer he got was couched in pretty rough language, and he resented this by answering back one hundred per cent in kind;

which so enraged Simpson that he seized the fire-poker and struck Larocque a glancing blow which laid bare a portion of his skull. With blood streaming from his wound he made a hurried exit; and when he appeared in this condition among his congeners, of whom there were a considerable number in the fort, his account of what had happened was received with exclamations of astonishment and indignation. This was followed by a consultation on the spot, which, fortunately for Mr. Simpson was not followed by immediate action, except in the way of letting all the French Half-castes of the country know at once what had happened, inasmuch as an act such as this by one of *la Compagnie Oo-ke-ma-wuk, Company Masters*, was more than a blow at one man—it was an insult to every one of them.

In the course of a day or so a body of Metis appeared before the fort, and presented their demand to the Colonial Governour, Mr. Christie. It was to the effect that unless Mr. Simpson was turned over to them they were determined to demolish the fort. To this a tactful and conciliatory answer was returned; but seemingly without any effect. And while the parley was being continued the Metis kept themselves up to the mark by singing the Indian war-song and dancing the Indian war-dance. However, they calmed down sufficiently—thanks to the frigid air of their native land—to consent to a renewal of the parley with a deputation from the fort which would meet them in one of their houses any day which would suit them.

This meeting took place very soon after, and commenced at ten o'clock on a bitterly cold night. The French were present in sufficient numbers to tax the capacity of the house; but as the fort deputation consisted of only four members they managed to squeeze in. The four members were, the Colonial Governour, Mr. Christie; Chief Factor Cameron; Mr. Alexander Ross, merchant; and Mr. Robert Logan, merchant.

The Metis were found to have renewed their former state of excitement, and if the delegates were not seized upon at sight, they were undoubtedly seized of the conviction that they had placed their lives in somebody's hands when they had mustered the courage or audacity to enter such a place; but there was one thing at least, much in their favour—there was hardly room in

the place to breathe, let alone fight, and consequently they might hope that the settlement of the matter in dispute would have to be entrusted to the arbitration of reason, aided on the one side by a cross between the politeness of the Frenchman and the transparent cunning of the Indian, and on the other by the prestige of *la Compagnie Bourgois* and the telling logic of an educated intellect. And so it was that after hours of good work, a decision was reached, and, as in many another and bigger conflict, victory perched where it was not expected to, or, no where in particular—Larocque could stay at home during the coming summer, but all the same, he would receive full payment, as if he had made the voyage, and his friends and sympathizers were to receive a ten-gallon keg of rum, and tobacco.

Sir George Simpson might well say that the time had come when it became necessary to put the administration of justice on a firmer footing. And the writer would add that it was a fitting time for some such monumental act. And we, perhaps, may be pardoned if we wonder whether it just happened or whether it was by design, and if by design, by whom, that in the very same year that the Hudson's Bay Company re-acquired the territory and rights which it had ceded to Lord Selkirk twenty-four years previously, there occurred the event—the formation of the Council of Assiniboia—the inception of what I have called the third epoch in the history of Red River Settlement.

That transaction between Lord Selkirk's heirs and the Hudson's Bay Company: did it not savour very much of appeal? Was it not like a vision beginning to be fulfilled? Was it not an encouragement to his Colonists and all men of good will to lift the torch on high and carry on with no goal in sight smaller than a Kingdom?

Of the formation of the first Government in the Red River Settlement it may be said: (1) That in consideration of what had gone before and was just concluded, it was timely and fitting; (2) That in consideration of the material then available for the forming of a Government, it was practicable; (3) That in consideration of the proven inadequacy of the smoothening system, the forming of a Government was imperative. As might

therefore be expected, the Government which has already been described was formed. And just enough will be told in the remainder of this chapter to give an idea of how the said Government was destined to function.

It was not until April 28, 1836, fourteen months after the Company had reinforced itself with new material that a real chance occurred to show whether Sir George's expectations had been fulfilled, and that the administration of justice had indeed been placed "on a more firm and regular footing." On that date, for the first time in its history, there was a trial by jury in Rupert's Land. It was held in the new Court House at Fort Garry. The case was that of the Queen *versus* Louis St. Dennis. The accused was a French Canadian, and he was charged with theft. The verdict was *guilty*, and he was sentenced to be flogged then and there.

The rest of the account may as well be given in Mr. Gunn's own words. (See page 293 of his history.)

"The novelty of a court composed of a bench of magistrates and jury drew large crowds together to witness the proceedings. A strong police force was in attendance, and formed a ring round the executioner while performing his duty; that finished, the police dispersed. The flogger appeared defenceless before the multitude, who viewed the unusual spectacle of a white man tied to a cart's tail, stripped naked and flogged. One threw a clod or stone at him, others followed the example, and all began to call at the height of their voices, 'Bourreau! Bourreau!' (Hangman). Stone him! Stone him! The terrified German, for such he was, fled, as he no doubt believed for life, but he had not proceeded many yards before he fell headlong into a pit. And seeing his sad mishap his mischievous pursuers burst into a loud fit of laughter mingled with hisses and execrations. Here the police interfered, dragged the woe-begone official out of the pit and guarded him in the fort until the people had gone away.

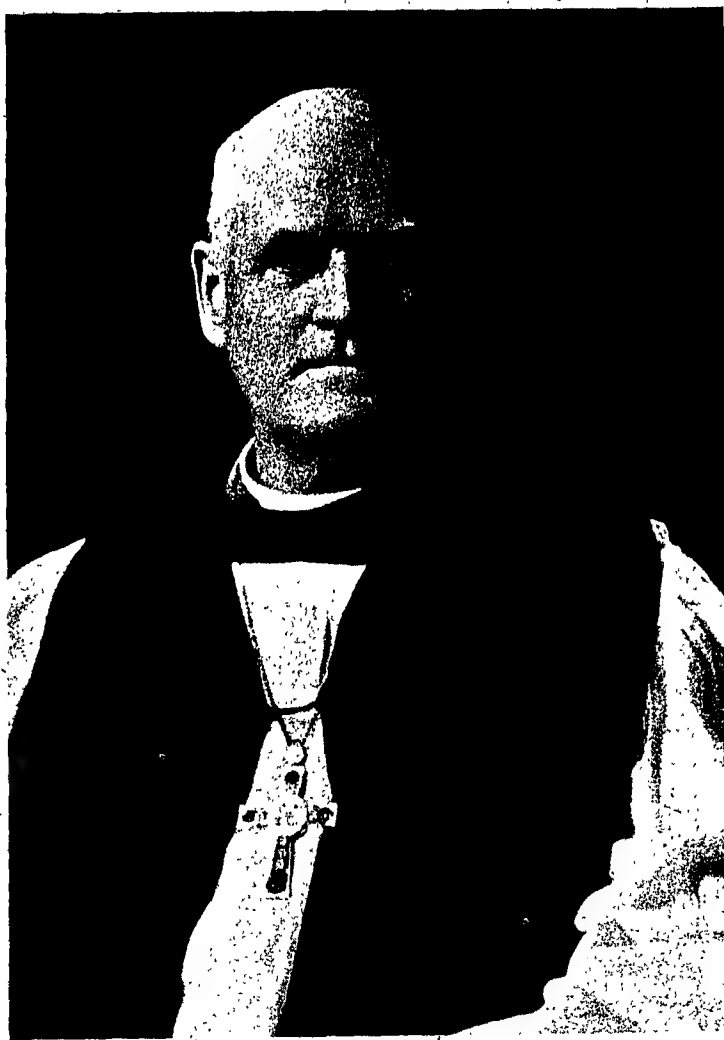
"Public opinion was so strong against the above mode of punishment, that, after five years had run their round, when a similar sentence had been passed for a similar offence not a person

could be found to perform the disagreeable and dangerous duty out of doors; therefore, on that second occasion the duty had to be performed in the prison, the official being masked, and for further security locked up until dark where he was."

The public somehow have an ineradicable prejudice against the application of corporal punishment, most likely due to an instinctive feeling that if it be not seriously discouraged some day it may come painfully near home. So like the spectators at Fort Garry a century ago who cried out *Bourreau! Bourreau!* it may tolerate spanking the little offenders at home; but when they go to school it is with the notice to the teacher—"Hands off," and no wonder that when they leave school it is with some of them a case of "Hands up." And whether or not the intended victim is quick enough to "stick 'em up," should it happen that the gunman is apprehended, tried and condemned to be flogged, there will be found right here in Winnipeg those who will ask, what are we coming to? Are we going to revert to practices of the cave man? And a goodly section of the people will pat that person on the back who proposes to reform the obdurate sinner by heaping coals of fire on his head. I suppose, in a way, we might say that Larocque was subjected to both methods of treatment, and, no doubt about it, the second would be much the pleasanter. But then the Simpson-Larocque incident occurred during the smoothening over period, when the semblance to a court of justice was inferior, and for lack of power, justice from necessity had to be largely diluted with leniency.

A striking instance of this sort happened in the year 1824, eleven years before the Council of Assiniboia was formed. Mr. Robert Pelly was at the time Colonial Governour.

A large party of *Saulteaux* had gone on the war-path to the country of the *Sioux*; but reconsidering the matter before they had a chance to get in touch with the enemy, returned empty handed. A number of them, however, actually reached the enemy's country; but for reasons best known to themselves they took no scalps. Among them there was at least one miscreant; and this fellow lagged behind; and some time after the others had reported at the starting point, turned up there with a scalp under



MOST REV. ISAAC O. STRINGER, D.D.
Archbishop and Metropolitan of Rupert's Land

his belt which he claimed had been taken from the head of a Sioux whom he had slain; but before long the truth of the matter was discovered. The scalp was that of a squaw of his own tribe whom he had murdered. The rest of the story is given in the words of Mr. Ross. See his history of the Red River Settlement, page 77.

"This savage deed was soon noised abroad. And the public voice was loud for bringing the murderer to punishment. At length, therefore, he was brought before the Governour who was attended on the occasion by some of his officials, so as to form a little court. Having listened with attention to the charge this sapient gentleman, judging it less troublesome to overlook the crime than to punish the murderer, transferred the case to a higher and a more impartial tribunal than his own in these words: "Tell him," said he to the interpreter, "that he has manifested a disposition subversive of all order, and that if he should not be punished in this world, he is sure to be punished in the next." The murderer was accordingly discharged, and felt pleased to incur the risk of future punishment in order to avoid the present, while at the same time he expressed the most profound contempt for the Governour's sense of justice and for his decision."

Apparently his Excellency was of the opinion that the Company's motto; *pro pelle cutem*, a skin for a skin, had no reference to Indian scalps; and so far as he was concerned, the Indians might go on attending to that branch of their common law as heretofore, always providing they confined their operations to Indian scalps. (I suppose.)

But by way of a return to the purpose announced—that of looking for indications as to how the Council of Assiniboia was going to succeed, I pass on to the year 1839, by which date it had been in existence four years, during which period it had functioned successfully enough. Still, however, the Company felt that in its monopoly it had an incubus which was the constant bane of its life, and likely to expedite its demise unless it discovered an effective antidote; and it was no doubt quite in harmony with this view that it added to its judicial machinery a learned lawyer who was to act as judge under the title of Recorder. The first

occupant of this position was a Mr. Adam Thom, a gentleman of high legal standing. And the fact that he received a salary of £700—a very large one in those days—may be taken as a criterion of his legal merits. Yet it must be admitted that while there is no question whatsoever as to Mr. Thom's merits either as a man or as a lawyer, the consensus of opinion among the colonists, during his tenure of office, was to the effect that he was a needless if not hurtful accessory of the governmental machinery of the times; and mainly so because of the popular opinion that power wielded by a monopoly is an evil, and that, therefore, any accession of power by a monopoly is liable to turn out only an aggravation of the evil. And from all the tests to which the said popular opinion has been subjected, it would seem to be fairly water-tight.

However, it is only fair that the Hudson's Bay Company should be heard as to its view and contentions at the time, regarding the monopoly which it claimed; and this I think cannot be more fairly expressed than is done by Mr. Joseph Hargrave in his history of Red River, page 88.

But first of all I may say that Mr. Joseph Hargrave was private secretary to Governour William McTavish. He was well-known to the writer as a 'ladies' man and all-round popular bachelor of middle-age, so popular that he was commonly spoken of as Joe Hargrave, and were he living in these days, would no doubt, be addressed by a great number of people as simply—Joe. This author writes as follows:

"The Company had permitted the importation of goods from England in their ships and allowed these goods to be sold to Whites or Indians, expecting to get the furs traded for these goods. The Company was mail carrier and freighter for all the colonists, and in view of the service thus rendered, considered that they might insist on their wishes *re* the fur trade to be taken into kind consideration, and Mr. Thom advising, a regulation was passed, and a proclamation made by the Governour of Assiniboia, that any merchant ordering goods from England, should be required to send his letters to his agent containing order, to Fort Garry, open; but this would not be required where he signed a guarantee not to use goods to be imported in opposing the Company in their

fur trade. This was in 1844, It gave great offence in the Settlement; and the directors in England wisely showed their opinion of this example of Mr. Thom's work by having it quickly disallowed. Still disapproval of the fur trade by a non Hudson's Bay trader had to be emphasized or who could tell what the end would be, so in 1849 Guillaume Sayer was apprehended on a charge of trading fur with the Indians. He was convicted, and although he would have been lightly dealt with, the Company had no chance to punish at all, before the court-house was surrounded by a large force of French Half-breeds, whose avowed purpose was not only to liberate Sayer but to assassinate the Recorder. They did the former, and somehow omitted the latter (page 90). Mr. Thom retired to Scotland in 1854. From 1854 to 1858, Mr. Johnstone, a distinguished pleader at the Canadian bar held the position of Recorder. From 1858 to 1862 the office of Recorder was vacant; but during the greater part of that period the duties pertaining to the position were performed by Dr. Bunn, a capable magistrate who died suddenly of apoplexy in 1861. Governour McTavish succeeded him till 1862, when the office of President of the Courts was conferred on John Black. (Note: I have given the last few items in curtailed form.)



CHAPTER TEN

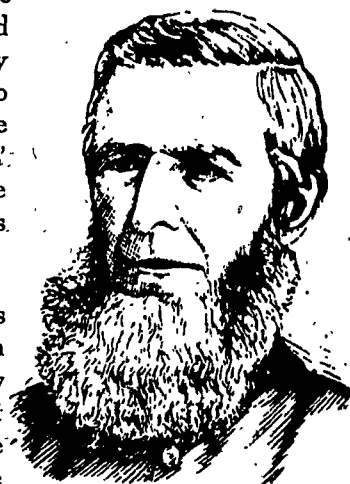
1851

The Arrival of Rev. John Black

THE monopoly which the Hudson's Bay Company enjoyed, or shall we say tried to enjoy, by virtue of its charter, enters so largely into the history of the Red River Settlement that a brief recapitulation of the events which led up to its relinquishment may be given as largely explanatory of that relinquishment when for another ten years at least the said claim was as valid as ever.

When the trial of Guillaume Sayer ended as it did, no doubt the leaders of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Garry knew that in spite of the aid of the Council of Assiniboia and Recorder Thom the trial of their monopolistic policy was also over. The day had at length arrived which must have been anticipated for the past one hundred and seventy-nine years—the day when circumstances would render the continuance of such a policy impracticable—therefore they had no reason to be surprised, and very little more reason to be sorry. For even allowing that they had pursued their policy with a commendable regard for the public good, and in a manner which went well with Honourable and left no stain upon its escutcheon, yet if by persistence in the same policy it was to come under opprobrium because of the changed conditions of the time, it was surely the part of wisdom to let it go by the board at once. The Company was wise; and although it would have been within its rights to have continued some time longer as a monopoly, it would have involved repeated clashes with members of the community, and especially with those of the Metis.

The Metis could not be expected to regard monopoly in the same light that the Company did. And in justice to this section of the community it should be taken into consideration, that due to their location in the country and their mode of life, they were not in a position to view the question quite as serenely as did the other sections of the community. To them it was the fly in the ointment; and it buzzed at inconvenient times and created a prejudice against the Company. The Company knew it, and knew also that if it quashed the cause, it would be no worse for itself, and possibly not much worse for the poor Metis, so it removed the cause. Had it done so thirty years earlier, it would have been no doubt responding to a proper desire to "live peaceably with all men;" but to have done so then would have been inimical to its own interests as well as those of the Metis.



REV. JOHN BLACK

To the Metis the monopoly was a bugbear, a mare's nest, a fly in the Hudson's Bay rum. They saw things at times which were not really there. For instance—take the trouble over the Simpson-Larocque affair; allow that it was human to see red on that occasion, it was more than the sight of blood which did that; it was the connecting of what they saw with the long-standing grievance which the Metis had against the Company, viz: deprivation of the liberty of selling their furs wherever they pleased, believing as they did that they caught their furs in a country which was more theirs than the Company's.

The writer is of the opinion that but for the check placed upon the liberty of the Metis to do with their furs as they pleased, they would have been just as ready as any others in the country to admit that the Company ruled benignantly; but so long as their grievance remained it was regarded by them as unkind and unjust; and that was why they so severely taxed the diplomatic ingenuity of the Company's officials, and drew so copiously on their ardent spirits,

on the occasion just referred to. That, too, probably explains how it was that in the case of the *Queen versus Louis St. Dennis*, though they quietly submitted to the course of justice as a proper tribute of respect to her Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, no sooner had the sentence of flagellation been carried out than there came a reaction, and the stones and mud thrown at the German flogger were not aimed at the majesty of law but at the medium through which it had reached them, namely, the monopolistic Hudson's Bay Company, against whose humble instrument they cried out, "Stone him! Stone him!"

It was three years later that the trial of Guillaume Sayer occurred, and Mr. Ross who was present in the capacity of Sheriff informs us that after it was over a French Canadian jurymen on reaching the court-room door gave three hearty cheers, and in a stentorian voice bawled out, "Le commerce est libre! Le commerce est libre! Vive la liberté!" According to the same authority there were at least three hundred and seventy-seven armed French Half-breeds present, and these took up the cry, and in the midst of yelling, whooping and firing kept shouting over and over again the same words, all the way from the court-house to the water's edge, and that in the midst of the court officials, Governour, Judge and magistrates.

The meaning of all this, expressed in plain English was, that, practically if not legally, the Company's monopolistic power was dead and would have to stay dead, and it speaks well for the mental poise of the Company's officials that in the midst of this commotion there was no reminder given of the fact known to all, that British troops, "the Pensioners," were stationed in the Settlement at this time.

While on the subject of the trials of the Hudson's Bay Company, I am reminded of the first important trial before Recorder Thom which in every sense of the word must have been a trial. Mr. Thom arrived in 1839 and in the year following he had to try a case which provided ample scope for the exercise of his legal talents. It was a case connected with the strange death of Mr. Thomas Simpson, the gentleman who in 1834 was the Company's accountant at Fort Garry and at the Christmas season, with unfortunate results, undertook to inflict condign

punishment upon a *voyageur* by the name of Larocque. Anyone knowing of that incident would be prepared to hear strange things about him again. I suppose he was temperamentally strange. He seemed, however, to his friends to be sound enough in mind and body; and judging from his correspondence he seems to have been a man of good parts, who had a worthy ambition to advance the best interests of his neighbours. It is also said that he was popular with the Metis because they knew him to be courageous, generous and companionable.

In 1840 he returned from an Arctic expedition, and he and a gentleman who had been one of his companions on the expedition went on from the Settlement to hand in a report in England; but they took different routes, the other taking the Dawson route, while Mr. Simpson left Fort Garry on the 6th June, having as travelling companions a party of French Canadians and Metis who were travelling by Red River carts as far as St. Peter on the Mississippi. In his anxiety to get in ahead of his rival on the Dawson route he hired three men and a boy belonging to the party to go on with him on saddle as far as St. Peter. But neither this change in his plans nor anything further about him was heard in the Settlement until the party with which he had left there in the month of June returned thither in the month of October. And by that time his body had been resting four months in a grave only two days travel south of Emerson.

The account given at Fort Garry of what had happened was as follows: He had acted in a strange and unusual manner before leaving the main party, and much more so after he had left it. He would suddenly leave his companions behind by making his horse go at full speed, and when about out of sight would turn, and still at a high rate of speed, rejoin them. Later he swerved from a straight course southward and travelled zig-zag. On the third day of this peculiar peregrination they struck the trail along which their own party had travelled some time before. On this being pointed out by his companions, he accused them of trying to humbug him. Soon after this, while the night's encampment was being prepared, he suddenly without a warning seized his gun and shot two men dead who were erecting his tent. To the two horrified companions who were left, a man named

Bruce, and a boy, he said that according to the laws of England he was justified in acting as he had done as the two men killed had conspired to take his life during the night; and he offered on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company that if Bruce, one of the two men left, would accompany him back to Fort Garry he would receive £500. The answer to this was that Bruce and his companion lost no time in mounting two horses, and when they had done so, going as fast as their horses would carry them after their party, now in front instead of to the rear. Overtaking the party in the early morning a hurried consultation followed, and in a short time six fit men, including Bruce, were mounted and proceeding as fast as was compatible with prudence along the trail in the direction of the spot where the tragedy had occurred. Arriving within shooting distance of that fatal spot, they manoeuvred around for some time with that scientific skill and cunning which came readily to men of their mode of living. Their first discovery was satisfactory—the tent was down, so that the object of their search if around and alive had deprived himself of that strategic advantage of concealment. With a minimum of risk they approached closer, when at length in response to their shooting and shouting they beheld a human form change from a prostrate to a sitting posture and almost simultaneously they heard a ball whistle through the air. Then once more all was motionless and silent; and again, but not without tactfulness, they drew yet closer in, until they made the discovery that the man they had liked and had just been fearing was stone dead, the ball which they had heard whistle through the air having first passed from under his chin upward through his brain.

Under ordinary circumstances a similar story would not likely be accepted anywhere as true, without investigation; not likely therefore that in a case like the present where the circumstances were so extraordinary was such a story as this to be accepted as true without careful investigation; and fortunately the Council of Assiniboia was at this time particularly well equipped for the purpose of conducting such an enquiry. Under the supervision of Recorder Thom many witnesses were examined, many affidavits taken, and a doctor was conducted to the spot where the bodies lay buried, and upon their disinterment and careful examination,

the facts revealed by the place and character of the wounds were carefully recorded. Then followed a careful examination of the evidence thus collected; then last of all there followed the decision of the Recorder and Magistrates to the effect that the account given by Bruce and his companions as to the manner in which Simpson and the two others respectively had come by their deaths, was in all essential particulars *absolutely* true.

That Bruce and his companions remained under suspicion until thus exonerated can easily be understood; but it is not easy to understand why, to a certain number of people they remained under suspicion after the investigation, even allowing that Mr. Simpson had had trouble with the French Half-castes six years before, and that, although it was only three or four days travel from Fort Garry where his death occurred, it was not till four months after that his death was reported there.

The writer has taken all this into consideration, and knowing from a lengthy experience that the French Half-caste is not the revengeful creature he has been represented to be by people who know little about him; and as I happen to date back to not far this side of the incident under discussion, it is easy for me to understand the tardy announcement at headquarters of the unhappy incident. I therefore have no doubt as to the truth of the story told by Bruce and his companions, because I pin my faith without hesitation to the conclusion arrived at by a competent court of justice after a full investigation.

Having had occasion to mention "The Pensioners," a small body of troops who were known by that name in Red River, where they were stationed at the time of the Sayer trouble, I shall now briefly describe the various small bodies of troops by which during a period of sixteen years, with a single interval of two years, Great Britain was pleased to provide military protection to this distant part of her dominions. Categorically mentioned they were as follows:

The Sixth Royals, 500 strong, under Colonel Crofton, 1846 to 1848;

The Pensioners, under Major Caldwell, 70, in 1848;

The Pensioners, 2nd contingent, under Major Caldwell, 70, in 1849;

The Pensioners were recalled in 1855;

A Company of The Canadian Rifles, 1857 to 1861.

The presence of the 6th Royals in the Settlement was usually attributed, and, no doubt, correctly so, to the very serious negotiations at the time going on between Great Britain and the United States over the ownership of the Oregon Territory, a term which at the time did not refer only to what is now the State of Oregon, but also in a vague manner to a narrow strip of country running far northward along the Pacific Coast; and the stationing of troops in this country was intended as a significant reminder to the Americans that North-West America was to remain British. Whether war was avoided on this occasion by being prepared for it, the writer would not venture to say; but there is no question about these troops having been a blessing to the country—and no blessing in disguise either, for they were liked and respected from the head officer downwards; and those who were in a position to know state that they helped the country greatly by providing a cash market, as they spent £15,000 for supplies; and best of all, they must have been fighters with the spiritual as well as the earthly sword, for it is said that the effect upon the settlers of the two years contact with them was decidedly to refine and uplift them. The writer cannot speak from observation on this point, as he belonged to the baby contingent of that year and arrived only six months previous to the departure of the 6th Royals. Maybe I did meet some of them and, if so, as they were such gentlemanly fellows, I hope they gladdened my mother's heart by staring at me in assumed astonishment and exclaiming, "What a baby!"

The pensioners, who come next on the list are said to have been a striking contrast to their predecessors. Mr. Ross writes in his history: "In the Pensioners we recognized a second edition of the de Meurons." It may be that in each of these cases, the black sheep were much in the minority; but nevertheless gave the entire flock a bad name. I regret to say, however, that neither tradition nor my slight personal knowledge conflicts with Mr. Ross' characterization. My father moved up to Portage la Prairie in 1853 taking my brother George and myself with him, while he made ready a place for himself and family. During that time my mother was left in the home at Park's Creek, having as companions a young woman and three of my sisters whose ages ranged from four years to a few months.

In those days locks on a private house was almost regarded as tantamount to an insult to one's neighbours, as no one ever thought of entering a tent or lodge if the owner was found to be absent; but with the Pensioners as neighbours that beautiful faith was badly shattered, for this much can be said for the Pensioners—they were a friendly lot and in passing between the two Fort Garrys they were liable to call at any place along the way at most unseasonable hours; and on one occasion two of them favoured my mother and her defenceless companions with a late visit at night. To insure privacy my mother had inserted a nail into the door-facing so that the latch could not be raised; but notwithstanding this precaution such pressure was applied by one of the men on the outside that the latch was being gradually forced up and to checkmate this mother had to apply all her strength to keep the nail and latch in position; and in doing so one of her fingers was cut almost to the bone. The noisy couple without, at length gave up in disgust and announced their departure as hilariously as they had announced their approach.

Yet a historian should be fair and not commend the 6th Royals for providing a £15,000 market for the country and then speak disparagingly of the Pensioners, who in the seven-year period immediately following spent £21,000.

The last troops in the country coming before those under Lieut.-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, were a company of the Canadian Rifles. When these arrived in the settlement the writer, who may possibly have been on *cooling* terms with a few of the 6th Royals, had by this time reached the age of nine years, and although a Portagee during the four-year period the Canadian Rifles were in the country, he had the pleasure at one time of being for an hour in close contact with them, and the high opinion formed of them on that occasion was well borne out fifteen years later when he became intimately acquainted with Captain Onion of their Company, who on retirement of the troops entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The one-hour contact just referred to occurred in the court-house. Don't be shocked. This happened on a beautiful Sunday afternoon, when their quick, simultaneous movements and their uniforms appealed to my budding notions as a magnificent

military display. Then when they engaged in a religious service which was conducted by Rev. Thomas Cochrane, son of the famous Archdeacon, they stamped themselves, for all time, ineffaceably upon my memory. There was also in particular one thing which I saw and one thing which I heard which has turned out ineffaceable.

The Reverend Robert McDonald was the preacher. He was a young man, good looking, and being apparently nervous, he tried to stick to his manuscript, but did not quite—it slipped from the desk to the floor, and by the time he had recovered it and found the place where he had left off, there were movements among the soldiers which could not be called either simultaneous or military, showing that the Rifles were not lacking in a sense of humor. The sermon over, Rev. Thomas gave out the evening hymn, which, no doubt, his father had given out thousands of times in the four churches along the Red River, and was still announcing of a Sunday at Portage la Prairie: "Glory to Thee, my God, this night;" and the way those troops sang it—the time twice as fast as ours at Portage, and to a new tune—made it stick to me, so that I could sing it perfectly when I left the court-house.

In regard to Captain Onion, I may say that in his later years, he was known as Mr. Camsell. This was due to an admiring aunt, who, preferring her own name to his, and desiring its survival, induced him to drop his surname and adopt hers. He did so; and making the name retroactive he and Mrs Onion and the children thereupon became Camsells, which may be an improvement, although hardly so if we consider the pronunciation and meaning as well as the spelling.

The reader is now asked to draw upon the imagination in order to visualize the Red River turned into a lake, and its fertile valley submerged under an average depth of ten or twelve feet of murky water, excepting some higher spots which were far between.

In the history of this country two floods may be regarded as in competition for the qualifying word great; viz: the one of 1826 and the one of 1852. A simple formula whereby to remember the dates is this: 26 and 26 equal 52. To me the first date is securely fixed as it synchronizes with William Cochrane's second year in the country and William Garrioch's second year as teacher in St. John's school.

Of the first flood Mr. Ross informs us that on May 2nd the water rose nine feet perpendicular in twenty-four hours before the ice moved. And comparing the maximum height of the two floods, he states that in the former it was eighteen inches higher than that of the latter.

Owing to a large increase in the population by 1852, and a more than proportionate increase in property, the total damage of the second flood was much greater than that of the first. Yet the losses were less keenly felt; because in this case the losers had so much more left wherewith to make a fresh beginning, and recuperation in consequence was so rapid that in a couple of years the settlers were better off than they had ever been before.

Mr. Ross gives a graphic account of both floods. It would appear that at the time of the first, he had a great little boat (the words great and little are mine), and in describing the feats of circumnavigation which he and his friends performed with this brave little craft we are provided with some entertaining reading. I cannot vie with Mr. Ross in giving a description of the first, as I did not arrive until some time later. And even regarding the second, as he was a man, and I only a little boy, things that would make a lasting impression on his mind might soon be forgotten by me, such as the pig which he tells of, which "swam for two days and two nights together without relief and yet was caught alive;" also the story of the "two men who had gone to rest on a small rick of hay, and found themselves in the morning drifting with the current, some three miles from where they had lain down the night before." I would like, however, to jot down two little stories of my own in connection with the second flood. One was that of a small building swept downwards amid-stream with a rooster perched on the top of it, and crowing as usual. I regret to be unable to tell what was the fate of this brave little creature; but no doubt in the end he came off as well as the pig.

It has been remarked that only one human life was lost in the first flood, and only one in the second; but the writer solemnly if thankfully declares that he came within a hair's breadth of changing the single fatality of the second flood into the plural number. It came about in this way. One Sunday morning I was

accompanying on their way to church my father and my mother and an uncle, Frederick Bird. The flood waters had by this time receded very considerably, but were still at a high stage, and the river at the place where we were walking came right up against the bank and was deep enough to drown a person who could not swim. Now it so happened that I was wearing for about the first time a dark-coloured cap made of a glazed and shining sort of material. I hate to think that, perhaps, *as a boy*, I may have been inordinately vain; but I must confess that on that occasion I was as proud of that cap as any mortal could be of any possession; and chiefly so because I knew that it had come all the way from England for myself; and I firmly believed that there was no other cap like it in the whole world.

It was a nice bright day and there was blowing a rather stiff northwest wind. And presently, off went my cap; and letting out just one eloquent yell, away went I in hot pursuit. Following the direction of the wind my rolling cap was destined to go over the brink at a distance of about one hundred yards unless something intervened; and from my bare head to the sole of my moccasins I felt from the start that it was a case of win or perish; and then when there remained only a few more feet between me and the brink, I stumbled—a good angel must have pushed me—and before my extended hands had reached the ground they had grasped my earthly crown; and when I arose panting, and rejoined my companions, my father and my uncle were laughing; but my mother only smiled, and in the smile there were tears; and when afterwards I told her I felt that unless I caught my cap I would have to go over the brink, she quietly replied, “I felt it too.”

In the year 1851, the year preceding the flood, an event occurred for which the Selkirk Colonists had been waiting forty years, viz: the arrival in Red River Settlement of a minister of their own church. The man who came to occupy this position was Rev. John Black. A pious and able man was Mr. Black, and although a Canadian, in his speech he so strikingly favoured the “broad Scotch,” that he might have been allowed to pass as a good substitute for a minister who could speak Gaelic. Nevertheless, to the aged people of his flock, he was a decided disappointment, until very soon they learned to esteem him for his many other

good qualities. But as may be supposed this peculiar pronunciation did not appeal to the sons of the Orkneymen; and a number of these going as visitors one Sunday in winter to the Kildonan church, attracted thither not unlikely by thoughts of the fair Scottish lassies who until lately had been their fellow-worshippers at St. John's, got to sizing up on their way home the oratorical merits of the preacher, when the wag of the party said, "Well, he may be all right as a preacher; but he is a most unreasonable man; fancy praying for *grass* in mid-winter."

At the time of Mr. Black's arrival the question of the ownership of the church then in use at St. John's had been settled; and believing that the matter can be safely handled at this date, and that it is explicable, I shall go a little further into the matter, but before doing so I shall first give a brief account of the buildings which in turn have stood on parish lot four, on much the same spot, and which have passed under the name of church, pro-cathedral or cathedral.



THE FIRST ST. JOHN'S CHURCH—JOHN WEST CHURCH

Church one, we may with all due respect to others refer to as the John West Church, as it was built through his influence and under his direction. And, as to the means at his disposal for this purpose, we gather from his journal that there were such; but that they were slowly available, which is easily accounted for considering the distressful circumstances of the times. However, if another fact which is even more german to the case be considered

— that Rev. John West had come to the country to act as clergyman and educationist of the Hudson's Bay Company, it becomes easily believable that when he set about erecting his first church and school-house he would be allowed by that corporation to draw upon its resources to a very considerable extent. And thus it was, no doubt, that the first church was built. It was a wooden structure, sixty by twenty-one, with a seating capacity of one hundred and fifty, and was opened for divine service in July, 1822. It was damaged by the flood of 1826; but apparently continued to be fit for use until 1834; and although there are lacking explicit statements to the effect that it was in use for twelve years, a reasonable conclusion to this effect is arrived at by inference in this manner: no Red River history nor old-timer consulted by the writer has stated or even hinted that there was an eight-year period—that between 1826 and 1834—during which the St. John's congregation were without a church. And when we do have explicit and reliable accounts of the building of another, it is that of a church built at the last-named date, and one of these records is from the pen of Mr. John Pritchard who was a member of the congregation from its inception, and an official for many years, and who also took an active part in collecting for the church planned for 1832. And when writing of the movement at that time he mentioned as the reasons for it that the church then in use was "out of repairs and much too small."

Church two: On the strength of the foregoing it may be safely concluded that the church of 1834 was the second St. John's Church. It was much larger than the previous one, and was built of stone. As regards the means whereby the Reverend David Jones was enabled to have it built, there can be no question that they were provided in the main by the members of the congregation, who, be it remembered were almost exclusively Presbyterian; and, that they gave of their substance very generously may be gathered from the fact, that in a single forenoon when the canvass was begun, four canvassers secured £600.

Without unnecessary delay this larger church was begun. The corner-stone was laid in 1834 by the Hudson's Bay Company Governour-in-chief, H. H. Berrens, when among other items deposited to mark the event was a bronze plate four or five inches

square on which was inscribed the Governour's name, the event and the date. This plate is safely kept in the St. John's Cathedral of today and helps place some things respecting the history of the second church beyond the possibility of dispute.

Church three: Almost on the identical spot where stood the previous church, the third church was erected. This also was of stone and was built during the episcopacy of Bishop Anderson. It was opened and consecrated in 1862, and was the first church designated as St. John's Cathedral. The ceremony of laying the corner-stone was performed by Mr. Dallas, Governour-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in addressing him on this occasion the Bishop made kind and respectful reference to a similar occasion when twenty-nine years previously a predecessor of his, Governour Berrens, had performed the same ceremony in connection with the previous church. In mentioning gifts which would aid in the building of the church he said he would "specify only the two largest—that of £500 from the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company and of the Christian Knowledge Society of the same amount."

For some time the building had been pronounced as unsafe by experts. And when it was taken down in the spring of 1926 the foundations were found to be quite inadequate, consisting of oak logs thrown into a trench two or three feet deep and covered with rubble.

Church four: When the first cathedral was pronounced unsafe, the parish hall which was a brick building erected in the early eighties, was made suitable to serve temporarily as a church, twenty feet being added to its length, suitable porches being erected over the entrances and the interior altered in accordance with the new use intended. The parish hall thus improved was known as the pro-cathedral, and was to all intents and purposes the fourth St. John's Church, in which capacity it had to serve for thirteen years, as the World War occurred in the earlier part of this period, and it was deemed advisable to await partial recovery from that cataclysm before attempting the erection of a new cathedral.

It has seemed to the writer that there existed somewhat analogous circumstances connected with the building of Solomon's

temple and that of the fifth church of St. John's, all of which bears out the aptness of our Lord's simile—that of a “grain of mustard seed which a man took and sowed in his field.” In the first instance the sowing occurred when Abraham arrived in the promised land and “pitched his tent and built an altar and called upon the name of the Lord;” in the second it took place when John West built his little log church on the site of the present cathedral midway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. As regards development, the highest stage reached in the first instance was in the building of Solomon's temple, and in the second, when the present St. John's Cathedral was built. But assuming as we may reasonably do that the figure of the mustard seed finds its fulfilment in a spiritually evolutionary religion, we can consistently say that while there was much in common in Solomon's temple and in John West's church, the latter was spiritually very far in advance in that it had the grand illumination of gospel truth which lights the traveller on his way till travelling days are done.

Another analogous circumstance relating to Solomon's temple and the St. John's Cathedral is, that, due to war which was or had been, construction in each case had to be postponed for a little while until there followed a time of peace. Finally, note this third analogy. Circumstances had made it necessary for David to do certain valiant things with his sword and his sling; and just therein lay the reason why he could not build the temple, albeit he made his substantial contribution, most valuable of which were the hymns which he wrote, which doubtless were sung by his sons in the temple *including the son of David*, and since his day, in churches as well as in synagogues the world over. Of the new cathedral we may be certain that Archbishop Machray knew and felt that the condition of the old, even in his day, presented a strong argument in favour of reconstruction, for even as early as 1869, when the writer became a member of the congregation, the state of the tower was being discussed as a menace to the safety of the worshippers; and one windy Sunday when Archdeacon McLean was saying the morning prayer, some object falling from the tower on to the roof of the church with a fearful crash, caused us to hold our breath and the Archdeacon to put in a stop not

required by the composition. Soon thereafter the tower was taken down and the church thus shorn of some of its exterior comeliness answered its purpose for four decades longer, until November 2, 1913, when the last service was held in it. At this service the sermon was preached by Canon Matheson, who has now for a very considerable period held the position of Dean.

Acting with a prescience which subsequent events have shown to have been true, Archbishop Machray began his episcopate by revivifying Bishop Anderson's by no means unsuccessful efforts at providing the people of Red River Settlement with the means of higher education; and doubtless he was never surer that he was turning his time and talents and his available resources to the best possible account than when concentrating them upon his pet scheme, St. John's College. And it might well be said that from the number of those who went out from that institution to engage in evangelistic work, and the great number of others who have gone forth to fill other useful positions in life, this celebrated prelate had honours enough for one man, and like King David he could afford to turn over to his son the pleasant honour of building a temple suited to the improved conditions to which his own strenuous efforts had so largely contributed.

He may well be called a son of Archbishop Machray who as a lad of fourteen was among the students at the inception of the college in 1866—his first day of attendance November 6th—and who from then onwards was associated with him in positions of increasing responsibility, attaining to that of assistant Bishop in the year previous to Archbishop Machray's death. The spiritual relationship existing between the Chief Pastor and the members of his flock was always conceded by Archbishop Matheson to Archbishop Machray to whom he referred at different times as his Father-in-God.

The first proposal of a memorial to Archbishop Machray was intended to be the erection of a new St. John's College, and it was hoped that this could be carried out by 1920, the centenary of the founding of the Anglican Church in Rupert's Land; but owing to difficulty in settling upon the most suitable site for the university, time passed until what was left became prohibitive; not so, however, if there were substituted a suitable memorial,

diocesan in character, for the erection of which there still remained time enough before the centenary. To this end the Archbishop in his address to the Synod Delegates of 1917 proposed that the new St. John's College be left in abeyance, and the memorial to Archbishop Machray should be a Diocesan undertaking, and take the form of a new cathedral, a part of which, at least, could be completed in time for the centenary. Owing, however, to the continuance of the war this proposal could not be carried out; and although the centenary celebration was a great success, it was neither a new college nor a new cathedral which helped to that end. So at the Synod meeting of 1923 he brought the matter up again, this time more pressingly, with the result that the following resolution was passed:

"That this Synod cordially endorses the project outlined by His Grace for the restoration and enlargement of the old cathedral as a memorial to Archbishop Machray."

By the end of November, 1926, this resolution had been put into effect, so that when the Synod met on the 22nd of June, 1927, the Archbishop expressed his joy because there had been provided the new cathedral in which their opening service was held.

In his canvass for subscriptions Archbishop Matheson was fortunate not only in obtaining the amount needed; but also in the spontaneity with which donations were made not only by church members, but by members of other churches as well, some of whom sent subscriptions without solicitation. After the Archbishop had made his own contribution a windfall enabled him to supplement it with another. The Women's Auxiliary made him a personal gift of \$1,500.00 in gold. This he added to the fund, although such was not intended by the donors.

As the Archbishop had intimated, the Parish of St. John's, which includes the college and cathedral staff, contributed about one third of the cost. The contract cost was \$110,000.00, which with furnishings and incidentals brought the total to about \$150,000.00.

The contractors were the John Sutherland Company, and the architects Messrs. Gilbert Parfitt and Edgar Prain. Their instructions were to preserve as far as possible in the nave of the new building the outlines of the old cathedral. This was done.

Also all the stone of the old was used in the new. And the tablets on the walls of the old cathedral were all placed in the same position on the walls of the new. This building was opened by a week of special services commencing on December 5, 1926, on which occasion Archdeacon Cody was the preacher.

Note: For the particulars respecting the pro-cathedral and the new cathedral the writer is largely indebted to the courtesy of Dean W. J. Matheson. Other items were obtained from the Synod Journals.

It is all too easy to write about religion with good and religious intent, and yet do so in a manner subversive of the real purpose of religion. Nevertheless, at some risk of being myself considered an offender in this respect I shall now proceed to the last word which there is need to write of the united history of Anglicanism and Presbyterianism in the Red River Settlement during the thirty-four years between 1817 and 1851.

At the first date named Lord Selkirk visited the country and renewed promises made to his colonists five years before, and at the last date named, those promises were fulfilled. And now in dwelling upon the steps taken by Mr. Ross and others extending over the seven years preceding the fulfilment of the promise, the writer advisedly gives the assurance that only that shall be written which is kind and just to all. And lest some word or phrase convey a wrong impression let this assurance also be given here: that the Anglican and Presbyterian sections of the congregation which for twenty-eight years worshipped together in a church at St. John's, had no hard feelings one toward the other; rather may we not think of them as furnishing a picture while they worshipped together, of which it might have been fittingly said: "Behold how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

By the time the colonists had waited thirty-three years for their minister they found themselves becoming sufficiently well-off in this world's goods to help materially toward maintaining one; and with the passing of the years they had gained other advantages. During the fifteen years that Lord Selkirk's heirs had retained the Earl's rights in this country they had failed to obtain the fulfilment of his promise in this matter; but the Company having in 1835

bought out these interests the colonists could now approach the Company on the ground that it had assumed Lord Selkirk's liabilities and tacitly admitted the validity of their claim in that it had placed a minister on lot four as had been promised by the Earl of Selkirk; but that it had failed in the very important particular that the said minister was not a minister of their church. Then followed the equally logical argument—Lord Selkirk had very substantially aided the Roman Catholic Church; and the Hudson's Bay Company had given valuable assistance to the Episcopal Church, and it reasonably followed that the Presbyterian Church also might expect to be treated with similar generosity.

It is interesting to note that the reviving activity of Mr. Ross and the colonists occurred when the preparation of candidates for confirmation by Bishop Mountain was going on; for their first letter in the seven year's correspondence by which a settlement was reached is dated June 10th, 1844, which was just twelve days before the arrival of Bishop Mountain.

This letter occupies over two pages in small print in Mr. Ross' history. It begins: "To the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee of The Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, London. The petition of the Presbyterian Inhabitants in Red River Colony, Humbly sheweth." This letter ends thus: "And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray" (and the signatures which follow are): Alexander Ross, Robert Logan, James Sinclair. To these three signatures the line is added, "And forty other heads of families."

In this letter the master-hand of Mr. Ross himself is easily traceable. With the means of communication available in those days, it was a whole year before an answer was received to this petition. It was headed, "*Hudson's Bay House, London, March 31st, 1845,*" and was signed, "*A. Barclay, Secretary. To Messrs. A. Ross, Robert Logan, James Sinclair.*"

In paragraph one of this letter Mr. Barclay on behalf of the Company acknowledged receipt of the petition praying that a clergyman of the Church of Scotland might be sent out for "the edification of the Presbyterian inhabitants." In paragraph two he refers to what had been said about indulgencies to ministers

of other denominations as not furnishing a precedent for maintaining a minister of a Presbyterian congregation, considering the missionary character of the work required of the others. Then followed paragraph three, which is here subjoined in full.

"During the time that the Settlement was under the direction of the late Earl of Selkirk no steps appear to have been taken with a view to the appointment of a Presbyterian clergyman; nor, when it was transferred by his Lordship to the Hudson's Bay Company, was any stipulation to that effect made with them. Nevertheless, if you and those you represent are prevented by conscientious scruples from availing yourselves of the religious services of a clergyman of the Church of England, the Governour and committee will order a passage to be provided in one of their ships for any minister, to be supported by yourselves, whom you may think fit to engage."

In the month of July, 1845, an answer to the foregoing was sent by the same representatives of the Presbyterians in Red River, and accompanying the letter there were two affidavits. In order to save time and space I shall quote these only in part, but endeavour to do so in as fair and effective a manner as possible.

"*Honoured Sirs:* We have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter in answer to our petition dated 31st March last." Following this several statements in paragraph three of Mr. Barclay's letter are quoted verbatim, and by way of rebuttal he is referred to accompanying affidavits. The transfer of Lord Selkirk's rights to the Hudson's Bay Company, it is stated, was unknown except by rumour, until his honour's letter informed them of the fact. It is also stated that in 1833, the building of a stone church was under contemplation—and in the context it is clear that the meaning intended was—under contemplation by the Anglicans.

In the closing paragraph of the letter the statement is made that the petitioners are only asking for their rights; and that they have fully discharged all obligations both to Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company. "And this fact encourages us to hope that your honours will be pleased to reconsider our case, recognize our claim and grant the prayer of our petition."

The first affidavit is thus introduced: "For and in behalf of the Presbyterian inhabitants of Red River."

AFFIDAVIT FIRST

"We the undersigned settlers in Selkirk's Colony, Hudson's Bay, make oath on the holy evangelist that One of the conditions stipulated, and solemnly promised by his Lordship, was that a minister of our own persuasion should accompany us: that the Rev. Donald Sage was the gentleman agreed to, and he was to have £50 a year from his Lordship Mr. Sage did not accompany us His father, Alexander Sage requested the Earl of Selkirk to leave his son for another year in order to perfect himself more fully in the Gaelic language But Mr. Sage never came out."

The affidavit closes with the statement that repeated efforts had been made to obtain the fulfilment of the above promises, but all in vain. The last sentence reads: "What other step, then, could we have taken? This is the truth, and nothing but the truth, so help us God!"

"Angus Matheson

"Alexander Matheson."

"Sworn and subscribed before me at Red River Settlement this 18th July, 1845.

"George Marcus Cary, J.P."

AFFIDAVIT SECOND

"We, the undersigned settlers in Selkirk's Colony, Hudson's Bay, make oath on the holy evangelist, that in the summer of 1817, when the late Earl of Selkirk visited the Colony, he assembled all the Scotch settlers together, and had a meeting on the west bank of the river, some two miles below Fort Garry, on the identical spot on which now stands the upper stone church, being lot number four, original survey. . . . His Lordship then observed to the emigrants, 'These lots are to be reserved for your minister, to be ready for him by the time he comes.'" On mentioning their minister the Scotch people got a little warm on the subject. "Our minister," said they, "ought to have been here before now." On their making this remark his Lordship was

touched, and drawing his hand across his neck, exclaimed, "You might as well cut my throat as doubt my word; you shall have your minister; nothing but the troubles in the country prevented Mr. Sage from being here before now; but you shall have your minister; Selkirk never forfeited his word. . . ." The signatures to this affidavit were those of *John McBeath, Alexander Matheson, Angus Matheson, Alexander Sutherland*, and it was attested by the same J.P. as the other.

In the course of a year Mr. Barclay was again heard from; but he made no mention of the affidavits, and in his letter of six lines he informed the colonists that the Hudson's Bay Company would do no more than it had promised in the previous letter.

Mr. Ross then approached the Free Church of Scotland through Rev. Dr. Brown of Aberdeen. In the course of three years he received an answer, in which sorrow was expressed that none of the men offered the opportunity of going to Red River Settlement as minister had cared to accept, but the hope was expressed that the church would be able to send out a man next year. Mr. Ross then wrote to Sir George Simpson, and the correspondence which followed accounted for another year, by which date Mr. Eden Colville succeeded Sir George as Governour of Rupert's Land. From the first Mr. Ross' correspondence with Sir George was encouraging, and it was equally so when taken up by Mr. Colville, at whose suggestion the following became the basis of settlement of the matter in dispute affecting the Anglicans and Presbyterians:

LOWER FORT GARRY, 30TH OCTOBER, 1850.

(1) "That the present church should be valued by arbitration or otherwise, and a proportionate amount be paid to each seceder from the congregation.

(2) "That the right to burial in the existing churchyard be reserved. . . .

(3) "That a grant of the Frog Plain shall be made to the trustees of the Presbyterian community, to be held by them in trust for the congregation. . . .

(4) "That at the next meeting of the Council of the Northern Department, I shall recommend a grant of £150 sterling towards the building of a church. . . .

"Very truly yours,

"(Signed) E. Colville."

The Hudson's Bay Company did even better than the foregoing, for not only did it pay £150 towards the building of the church; but it also paid £50 of the £150 allowed Mr. J. Black as salary.

In regard to Mr. Black's appointment, it may be stated, that after the Presbyterian Church in Scotland had without success endeavoured to find a suitable man for the position in Red River, they entrusted that responsibility to the Presbyterian Church in Canada. And thus it comes that even allowing that the Presbyterian Church did not have the honour of sending "the first ordained minister" into the Red River Settlement, thanks to Canada it is entitled to the honour of sending the second or the third; just according to what may be the proper definition of "an ordained minister."

From letters of Bishop Anderson still extant verification has been obtained in the correctness of Mr. Ross' statement regarding the basis of settlement proposed by the Hudson's Bay Company Governour, Mr. Colville by way of settling the parochial church question at St. John's. It is furthermore learned from these letters that his Lordship considered it likely that impartial valuations would regard the building of very little value owing to its dilapidated condition. It also transpired later that when the cathedral had been built, and according to rule had to be free of debt before consecration, some of the pews used therein were not regarded as released by the parties who had owned and used them in the previous church, so it became necessary to ask these to send in a bill for the total amount; which was done, and it was paid.

The difficulty over the cemetery was also quietly settled. A portion thereof was reserved for those of the Presbyterians who had friends buried there.

The facts on both sides of this question have now been settled. Others have fully told what has been done; the writer has done

his best to tell how and why it happened; and the unbiased reader may be trusted to draw right conclusions as to what was likely to follow. And neither writer nor reader has any occasion to feel sore over that, for there is much on both sides which is highly creditable to both. And if there be anything that is not—forget it. Surely if the united congregation of St. John's parish could rise to this level over disruption, we of the third and fourth generation ought to be able to do so. It ill becomes those who profess and call themselves Christians to practise keeping up a grudge. Mr. Sheriff Ross himself did not do that, for even while religiously championing the cause of Presbyterianism in Red River Settlement, he pauses in the very midst of it all, and seems to refine and mellow his whole book by the splendid tribute he pays to the characters and personalities of Reverend William Cochrane and David Jones. Of Archdeacon Cochrane and the colonists at any rate, the writer would say, speaking from experience, there must have been formed between them a bond of fellowship during their connection in St. John's which was never forgotten; for ten years or so afterwards there were three of the original colonists and two of the second generation who were members of his congregation at Portage la Prairie. And when still ten years later I took charge of the Parish School at St. John's, and half of my pupils were descendants of the colonists of the third generation; and boarding as I did in Scottish land on the east of the Red, I became as well acquainted with the parents of my pupils as with the pupils themselves, and was often entertained by them with pleasant reminiscences of the olden times when the one church at St. John's was made to answer for both Presbyterians and Anglicans.



CHAPTER ELEVEN

1851-1857

Archdeacon Cochrane Goes West

WHEN Bishop Anderson arrived in the country as pioneer Anglican Bishop, he found that so far as the Anglican Church can be called established without a bishop, it was already established; and that very largely through the strong personality and the zeal and energy of Rev. William Cochrane, who, though in official standing only an ordained missionary, was, by natural endowment, a born leader of men and the greatest up-builder of the church—both spiritual and material in this land in his day. And Bishop Anderson being a *gentleman*, he faithfully performed the duties of his episcopal office without making Mr. Cochrane feel that he was superseded. It is not strange, therefore, that in negotiations with the Church Missionary Society, and in the initial steps toward the formation of a mission and settlement at Portage la Prairie, Mr. Cochrane alone acted on behalf of the church. What does seem strange, to the writer, at any rate, is that he was not promoted to the position of Archdeacon until December 27, 1853, about four years and three months after the Bishop's arrival in the country, and two years after a school had been opened at Portage la Prairie and all the material collected with which the church was to be built, as well as that for the parsonage which the Archdeacon was to occupy; can it be—and here I risk exceeding my rights—that the secession of the Presbyterians which occurred at this time had such a disturbing effect on ecclesiastical affairs in general, that it caused the Bishop to forget a little distinction in the face of a big difference.

But to pass from conjecture to certainty I would remark that if Bishop Anderson did overlook a fitting occasion on which to bestow the title of Archdeacon on Mr. Cochrane, he did not have long to wait for other equally fitting occasions; and the year in which the beautiful stone church at St. Peter's was commenced, the year in which the first church and parsonage at Portage la Prairie was also commenced, thus making, we may say, an earnest beginning of the church and settlement—there was a very suitable time indeed for honouring the man under whose supervision these undertakings were being carried out. Fitting, indeed, it was that in this year, 1853, the man who as most prominent worker had been a sort of predecessor of Bishop Anderson; and after the Bishop's arrival virtually his coadjutor, should now become at least his Archdeacon.

It is not very often that the establishment of a settlement can be accredited to any particular individual; but a slight study of the circumstances in the case of Portage la Prairie makes it clear that the honour has to be accorded to Archdeacon Cochrane; this, however, does not exclude from participation in the honour those who before, and at the time and afterwards contributed their fair share to the value of what was accomplished.

We would not forget Verandrye whose Fort de la Reine for fifteen years was occupied, and that Verandrye by his manliness commended the common cause of humanity to the Indians with whom he traded, thus leaving a record which was no hindrance to Archdeacon Cochrane's Indian School, which a century later was located a few hundred yards from where stood Verandrye's trading post; nor should we forget the Hudson's Bay Company, who after a long interval re-established there in 1832, building a trading post which was under charge of one John R. McKay, and which stood on the site of Verandrye's fort. This replaced Hudson's Bay Company trading post was being kept up at the time of Archdeacon Cochrane's arrival in Portage and was under the management of James Sinclair. Nor should this go unmentioned—which is too important for that—that among the Saulteaux who were hunting and trading there as the Company had encouraged them to do, and who were settled there as far as Saulteaux at that time could be regarded as settled anywhere, there were some

who in their little garden patches at Portage la Prairie were raising potatoes, Indian corn and turnips, as Archdeacon Cochrane had taught them to do at St. Peter's, and at least one or two of these were relatives of the celebrated chief Peguis.

And now coming to those who had belonged to congregations in Red River of which Archdeacon Cochrane was pastor, and who, no doubt, co-operated with him in the establishing of the new settlement, I am able to take the Archdeacon himself as authority.

In February, 1863, Messrs. Ross and Coldwell, editors and proprietors of the "Nor'-Wester," paid Portage la Prairie a visit. While there, they were the guests of Archdeacon and Mrs. Cochrane, and on their return to their printing office they printed a lengthy account of their visit, in which they referred to Portage la Prairie as "a settlement in the west." They began with the important statement, no doubt made on the authority of their host: "Twelve years ago (1851) there were no houses here." The Hudson's Bay Company trading post, of course, being excepted. Mr. Cochrane is then quoted as saying: "Portage la Prairie is where Lord Selkirk should have established his colony. . . . A couple of settlers went up in the fall of 1851, some more in 1852 and still more in 1853." The editors then add: "All this time Mr. Cochrane managed his infant colony at arm's length. In 1853 he got a school built about forty feet long and twenty broad."

As to the date on which Archdeacon Cochrane moved up to Portage with his family, and personally and continuously took charge of the work there, the writer must admit that he puzzled over the matter for a long time, and that it was only after discussing it with a number of well-posted old-timers, and carefully comparing the parish registers of St. Peter's, St. Andrew's, St. John's and St. Mary's, Portage la Prairie, that he could venture to affirm confidently that that important move was made early in the year 1857. However, in consideration of the facts just given, and the main fact that the church was already erected in 1854, and that thereafter services were supplied occasionally by the Archdeacon himself, or at another time by his son-in-law, Rev. C. Hilliar, or Rev. Mr. Kirkby, or some other clergyman or a layman of the parish (William Garrioch or Frederick Bird), the

year 1854 is certainly the one to be quoted as the date of the establishment of St. Mary's Church, and, for that matter, the settlement of Portage la Prairie.

It must have been a great comfort to Archdeacon Cochrane in locating in this, his last charge, to know that his English-speaking congregation would be largely made up of those to whom he had been as a father. And they, on their part, nestled down into their new homes with a feeling of restfulness and confidence, fully persuaded that the prayers of good Archdeacon Cochrane were worth more to them than a stone wall against any who might devise their hurt.

A large percentage of them placed a very high value on the public ordinances of religion; and they showed this not only by regularly availing themselves of the means of grace, but by co-operating with their pastor in befriending the Indians, and by encouraging them to accept the Christian faith.

A list is here subjoined of those who were members of the first St. Mary's congregation. The first fifteen or so on the list were located in Portage when the Archdeacon came up for good.

John Anderson, Sr.
Frederick Bird
Peter Garrioch
William Garrioch
Richard Favel
Thomas Anderson, Sr.
Peter Whitford
John Spence
John Garrioch
Henry House
Gavin Garrioch
James Whitford, Sr.
Henry House, Jr.
Magnus House
Robert Inkster
James Whitford, Jr.
Magnus Whitford
Henry Anderson

John James Setter
Baptiste Demarais
Charles Demarais
John Inkster
Simon Whitford
John Hodgson
William Sutherland
William Gaddy
Charlotte Spence
James Frank
Malcolm Cummings
Charles Cummings
Joseph House
Henry House, Sr.
Philip Whitford
Francis Whitford
James Jonas
Benjamin McKenzie

William Norn
 David Cusitar
 John Dougal McKay
 William McKay
 Peter Henderson
 Joseph Turner
 Robert Gunn
 David Bow
 Thomas Bow
 Allen McIver

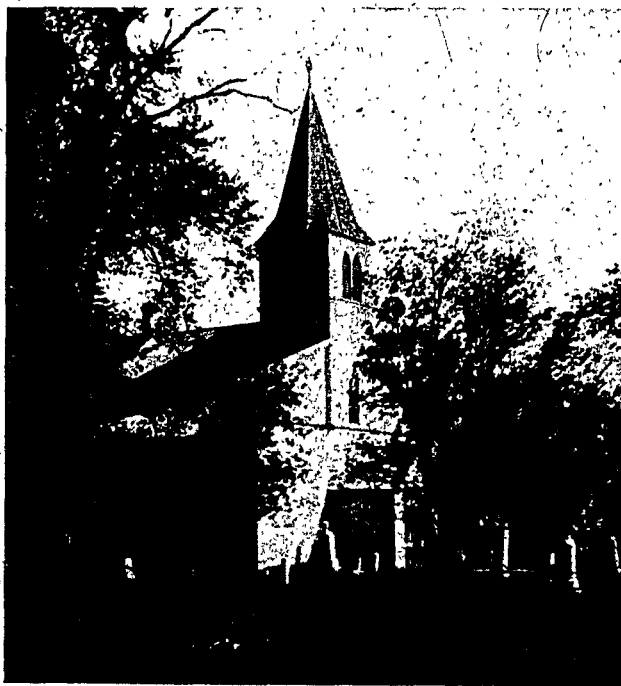
David Anderson
 John Whitford
 John Anderson, Jr.
 John McBride
 James Sinclair and H.B.C.
 Co. trading post
 establishment
 William Hodgson
 Alexander Gaddy

The names of some others who had settled in Portage la Prairie before the close of Archdeacon Cochrane's pastorate, do not appear on this list as some of them were Presbyterians and others had not identified themselves with the church.

As soon as the Portage la Prairie Settlement got fairly under way it became an interesting topic of conversation to the residents of the parent settlement on the Red River, partly due to the high standing of the man who had taken the initiative in the movement, and partly because the movement had taken him and his followers beyond the jurisdiction of the Council of Assiniboia. And when it got to be known that Archdeacon Cochrane had done this contrary to the wishes of Sir George Simpson, Governour-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, the matter became serious or amusing, according to the light or humour in which one might be disposed to regard it. Until then the harmonious relations existing between the mission and the fur-trading company had never been disturbed, or, as one might say, the union between church and state had been quite satisfactory; but now, this happy condition of affairs was seriously threatened, by a dash of will-power emanating from a strong personality on the one side, and conflicting with an equally strong one on the other. Naturally, Sir George would take the view that he was largely responsible for the protection of the settlers in the country, including the Archdeacon himself. Perhaps, too, he had in mind the fact of the said Archdeacon being or having been chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, and thought that it ill became him to go contrary to the will of its representative. The Archdeacon on the other hand would not forget that this same Hudson's Bay Company



OLD ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, MIDDLECHURCH



ST. PETER'S CHURCH

had shown its estimate of the value of missions by sending out conjointly with the Church Missionary Society the first missionary to the country; and that thereafter its business, to an unprecedented degree, had prospered: and the same with the entire settlement, so much so, that an eloquent writer of the day pronounced it "Britain's One Utopia." Evidently these two great men were concerned about each other's welfare, each regarding the other as exposing himself to great danger in an unwarrantable manner: the Archdeacon in going outside of the favoured area, where, under the aegis of the Council of Assiniboia there was protection for life and property; and the Governour, exposing himself to graver peril by failure to see that the establishing of a mission at Portage la Prairie was in harmony with the command of their common Master: "Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature."

It is well perhaps that we don't know of all that passed between the two on this important occasion; but the following can be taken as authentic on the statement of a very reliable pioneer patriarch:

Governour Simpson: "Archdeacon, I wish you to understand that I am quite opposed to your establishing a settlement up there."

Archdeacon Cochrane: "Sir George, I am going up there to establish a mission, and I am going up this very day."

He went, and there is good reason to believe that in a little while no one more respected his faith and courage in doing so than gruff but kind-hearted Sir George Simpson.

In Archdeacon Cochrane's time the Indians to whom Portage la Prairie was a favourite rendezvous, were of the *Saulteaux* tribe; for it was Indians of this tribe who after the small-pox scourge of 1781-82, occupied the splendid hunting ground of this and the surrounding districts which they found vacated as the *Assiniboines* journeyed westward towards the Rockies.

In the early days of the writer the *Saulteaux* of the Red River Settlement were regarded as pretty good beggars, and as they were invariably modest enough to use the word *pungee*, a little,

when soliciting, many of the settlers got into the habit of speaking of them as *Bungees*. Some of these Bungees were old acquaintances of the Portage pioneers, and as they could converse together in either Cree or Saulteaux, and had all more or less come under the influence of Archdeacon Cochrane's teaching, it is not strange that for ten years they lived side by side on the best of terms; and the troubles between Indians and Whites which occurred after that period were due to the arrival of other Indians and other Whites.

To anyone who stops to consider, it can easily be understood why Verandrye should have selected Portage la Prairie as his headquarters in preference to The Forks, now Winnipeg. The former was a veritable hunter's paradise, and a favourite rendezvous of the Indians; and it also afforded better facilities for the fur trade, for Hudson Bay was more accessible *via* Portage Creek than by the Red River, so long as the birch-bark canoe was the only inland boat in use. And even with other considerations left out, if this one be taken into account—that the Portage soil is only half as difficult to cultivate as that at Frog Plain, Archdeacon Cochrane was well justified in saying that the former was the place where Lord Selkirk should have located his colony. However, on the occasion of his visit to this country, whatever his opinions on this matter may have been it was too late to make the change. His colonists had had too much moving already. We notice, though, that when extinguishing the Indian title to a long and narrow strip of country which would be sufficient for his colonists for a long time to come, he saw to it that Portage la Prairie was safely included, by placing the western boundary of the said strip at Rat Creek some six miles west of Portage; and in the treaty with the Indians, Portage had the distinction of being one of the two places where "one hundred pounds of good, marketable tobacco" was to be annually paid over to the Indians.

According to the constitution of the Council of Assiniboia, the operations of its judiciary department did not extend beyond a radius of fifty miles from Upper Fort Garry. Likely, by accident and not contrivance, Portage la Prairie was some four or five miles outside this radius; and thus by act of Lord Selkirk on the one

hand, and the Hudson's Bay Company on the other, it came to be regarded as a sort of reserve, which neither Indian nor White might occupy by legal right.

But while Archdeacon Cochrane doubtless had a proper respect for the Hudson's Bay Company charter and the resolutions of the Council of Assiniboia, being himself a member of that body, he had a more profound respect for the moral law, and "the law of the spirit," so when he visited Portage la Prairie in 1851, he saw there a country ready to be exploited, both in the field of missionary enterprise and that of agriculture as well; but he saw no man who might "let or hinder," so, man of vision that he was, he put down his stake, giving out the contract for the building of a small school which was in operation in the winter of 1851-52. Then he returned to St. Peter's where he completed the stone church, after which he moved *in toto* to Portage la Prairie in 1857.

Since then Portage la Prairie has undergone many changes; but although it has had its shave and donned many new garments, its original contour is still easily recognizable. One can see at a glance the old layout of prairie and bush, lake and river; and in studying the seeming vagaries of the Assiniboine at this particular spot, one has a chance to study at the same time what those industrious little engineers, the beavers, did, and doing, added very considerably to the beauty of the scenery which has been further enhanced by that other engineering animal, man.

We may suppose that hundreds of years ago when the mound builders inhabited this land the Assiniboine after cutting its way through the Sand Hills came to a stretch of country where there was not a single elevation in sight, and it spread itself this way and that, especially when the rains and the thaw and the floods came. Then when the waters subsided it was sometimes a matter of opinion as to where the river would eventually be. Finally, however, it settled down into a great curve to the south and east, having followed, no doubt, the way of least resistance, which, alas, is only too natural. And within that curve, beginning at "the Old Fort," and ending at Pratt's Landing, there was about 3,500 acres of land and water; that both were well represented is

to be noticed in the following list of names which the early pioneers gradually compiled in order that they might be able to refer intelligently to different places lying within the area: the Indian Camp, The Swamp, The Island, Jack Spence's Point, The Beaver Dam, Garrioch's Bush, The Little Lake, Garrioch's Creek, Inkster's Island, The Weedy Hill, Archdeacon Cochrane's Point. The first item on this list was, within the recollection of the writer, called successively a swamp, a slough, and finally Crescent Lake. I have also heard it referred to as "Peeh-too-pake," the term the Crees apply to a small body of water lying in proximity to a lake or river into which its waters debouch. The items referred to as islands, points or bush, contained about as magnificent an assemblage of all manner of deciduous trees indigenous to this latitude as ever I have seen. There were to be found in abundance, oak, ash, elm, birch, soft maple, poplar, balsam, basswood, and alder; and the wild fruits which are there now, were all there at that time, some of them such as the strawberry and raspberry, in greater abundance than at the present time. As to the places referred to as lake, swamp or creek they are all comprised in one sinuous depression, which during the earlier part of the season had water communication with a current in it from end to end, at other times was dry in spots. But when the precipitation was abundant the deeper spots again became connected, and pike in great numbers of an average length of twelve to sixteen inches, would make a fresh start in the direction of Lake Winnipeg. If the sinuous depression just described were placed in a straight line it would be at least four miles in length.

The general form of the prairie at Portage is that of an obtuse angle, and with Crescent Lake and the other divisions already mentioned, occupying the place which might otherwise have been the apex of the prairie, there was provided a variation which the Portage pioneers found both pleasing and profitable. The great bend in the river being thus taken up with the land and water divisions just described, the Portage plain could only approach the river straddle-wise, the right or western leg passing between Crescent Lake and the Sand Hills, and the left leg getting a footing on Pratt's Landing.

The western point of prairie by arrangement with Archdeacon Cochrane and the Indians was reserved as the Indian camping ground, and as a place where those so disposed might have their little garden patches. This reserve when surveyed was found to contain seven hundred and seventeen acres. At the other point of the prairie, which was two miles east from the first named was where the first St. Mary's Church was built, and about one hundred yards east of this stood the parsonage, and about four hundred yards north of the parsonage, and about fifty yards from the river road, was where the second school-house was built.

The physical conformation at Portage la Prairie was certainly ideal for a settlement, where for the time being, concentration rather than expansion had to be studied, and the aim of all was not only to be as near as possible to their common natural utilities; but also to equalize as nearly as possible the means of social intercourse, and to make easy of access to everybody those indispensable fixed institutions, a church, a school and a grist-mill. The settlement was decidedly zig-zag, in fact it resembled a combination of the letters "S" and "Z." At the upper curve was the Indian camping ground, and eastward and southward from there were the settlers, over half of them fronting on Crescent Lake, and the remainder on Garrioch's Creek and the Assiniboine River, the last two families on a small swamp at the lower extremity of the "Z." This form of settlement was very convenient so long as most of the settlers gave more time to hunting than farming; as in consequence fields with their snake fences were not formidable enough to prevent "straight cuts" from one place to another. Another advantage of this form of settlement was that it enabled the cattle to herd together; and in the bull-fly season it was quite common for all the cattle to form into a single herd soon after the morning milking.

All the settlers could usually procure their hay nearer than two miles, but usually preferred going that distance because some might have to be left in the coil till after harvest, or in the case of others, till after the fall hunt; and the further off the less likely it was to be injured by cattle. Every man could procure an abundance of hard or soft wood only a few hundred yards from his door, so there was abundance of building material, and the

fuel question was considered hardly worthy of discussion by any man who could swing a Red River axe or pull a cross-cut. In consequence of oak and elm being so convenient to every man's hand, and nearly every man being so handy in converting these trees into these indispensable vehicles—Red River carts, the Portage became quite famous for their manufacture; but second to the White Horse Plains where the Metis did a thriving business with the Hudson's Bay Company.

The soil of Portage la Prairie is a sandy loam, and in those early times bore ample evidence of its fertility in a luxuriant growth of grasses such as red-top, blue, timothy, Scotch and pea-vine; and also in the abundance of wild fruits indigenous to this country. Fish, such as the sturgeon, cat-fish, pike, perch and goldeye were abundant in the Assiniboine, and white fish and other kinds equally so in Lake Manitoba. That inestimable animal, the buffalo, was still to be found in large numbers not far to the west, and occasionally a representative of their kind in the form of an "old bull" would be reported as near as Rat Creek, now Burnside. In the extensive forest extending southward, westward and eastward, elk, moose and wapiti were numerous. Fur-bearing animals such as the bear, wolf, fox, beaver, badger, lynx, wolverine, fisher, mink and muskrat, all had their haunts within easy reach. Wild ducks abounded in every swamp and stream. All summer the *coo* of the wild pigeon could be heard in the woods, while in the fall the partridge and the pheasant strutted about the buildings or perched on the trees with little more concern than if they were domesticated.

These things, of course, would appeal to Archdeacon Cochrane chiefly as a means to an end. In a place so generously endowed with the means of bodily sustenance, neither Whites nor Indians need be harassed by want, and therefore their thoughts might be the more easily directed to higher and better things.

During the twelve years that Archdeacon Cochrane spent in Portage la Prairie he faultlessly maintained his record as a faithful pastor and missionary, while at the same time he kept an eye on the farm, and it could be easily seen that he was a competent agriculturist. He usually kept two men, and everything was kept

in the right place and in good condition, and everything was done in the right time and in the right way.

The writer never heard of his firing a shot at anything, although he possessed a single barrel flint-lock, with a barrel four feet in length; and this same flint-lock in the hands of the hired man, as may be supposed, did no mean execution when, well loaded with snipe-dust, it was discharged at a flock of black birds. No one ever had reason to suppose that the Archdeacon did not respect the man who hunted industriously with gun or trap, but there is one thing sure, when he saw one of this sort turning his attention more to farming, he regarded it very much as tantamount to "turning a new leaf;" and there is not the slightest doubt that much of the little farming which was done, and many of the new leaves which were turned were largely due to kind words and kind deeds of encouragement from him. And no doubt it was largely due to this interest in their temporal as well as spiritual well-being which encouraged the members of his successive parishes to second as cheerfully as they did the carrying out of his plans for the erection of a church.

In the case of Portage la Prairie, while the church was being built the Sunday services were held in Jack Anderson's dwelling house which stood near the north bank of Crescent Lake at the foot of fourth street, southeast. It was a log building twenty feet square, and quite large enough to hold all the Portage church-goers of that time. The seats consisted of planks laid across blocks. An eighteen-inch aisle led up the centre to the unpainted table which stood at the top, and which served as pulpit, desk and altar. There was not much to savour of churchliness until the worshippers and their revered pastor took their places, and then the churchliness was high in the best and highest sense.

The writer was only six years of age when during the autumn of 1854 the Archdeacon was holding the Sunday services in Jack Anderson's dwelling house. One of those services is indelibly stamped on my memory, because, owing to the darkness in which the service ended, my cap (not the one which nearly cost me my life), was lost in the building, and not recovered until the return of the light of another day. Probably when falling asleep

and nearly falling off the seat, I had kicked the thing some distance. The prevalent opinion of the adult population of Red River as to the comparative merits of the preaching of the clergy of his day was to the effect that for a truly interesting and edifying discourse he was ahead of them all. So far as I was competent to judge, I would say that his sermons were very, very long. On the occasion referred to he wound up as he always did with the words: "May God bless His word for His name's sake."

By this time we were in pitchy darkness, and there was a beautiful appropriateness about it, when, from the spot where we had last beheld his stately form there came forth the sound of his voice as he announced the favourite evening hymn:

"Glory to Thee my God this night
For all the blessings of the light."

Up to the time of Bishop Anderson's resignation as Bishop of Rupert's Land, in 1865, the Anglican clergy in Rupert's Land were missionaries not only in the sense of being sent, but also in the sense that they were paid by the church in the Mother Land through her missionary societies. Without such help Portage la Prairie must have gone twelve or fifteen years longer without a church or school even supposing settlers from Red River, tempted by its many advantages, had settled there; for of those fifty-three families who accompanied Archdeacon Cochrane there, two thirds were very poor, and of the remaining third only two were regarded as well-off. One of these was David Cusitar and the other was the father of the writer. But if the Archdeacon's parishioners had little to spare they had willing hearts and skilful hands, and in the building of the church and school-house they made valuable contributions in material and labour, for there was not a man among them who could not swing an axe or take his end of a whip-saw; and there were some of them, among whom was the writer's father, who could not have been easily out-classed as carpenters in their day or any other. And, at any rate, between them all they built a church, which, if it could not be called "exceedingly magnificent," it answered admirably for the purpose for which it was built. It was, at least neat and comfortable; and we could sing therein with more reason than Solomon could in

his day, "Glory . . . for all the blessings of the light—" "The light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

The church of St. Mary's at Portage was sixty feet long by twenty-seven wide, and in height under eaves thirteen or fourteen feet. At the north end was a tower ten feet square and sixty feet high, finished with a spire surmounted by a cross. The walls of both church and tower were of oak logs hewn on two sides. The style of construction was frame, a term in those days applied to a building of which the frame consisted of a sill or foundation



FIRST ST. MARY'S CHURCH
Portage la Prairie

about one foot square, a plating about eight inches square, and squared posts of the same thickness as the plating and standing ten or twelve feet apart. These posts were tenoned and thus fitted into the foundation and plating. On opposite sides the posts were grooved, and into these grooves the filling logs were tenoned. The church and tower were clap-boarded and white-washed, and the roof of the church covered with unpainted oak shingles. Inside, the walls were not lathed, but simply axe-scored, and

plastered with a mixture of clay and finely chopped hay, and finished off with whitewash. The ceiling was of basswood, done in panel work and was unpainted. There were four Gothic windows on each side of the church and a larger one at the south end. There was no chancel, a feature of all the churches built in the country in Archdeacon Cochrane's time. The substitute in the case under consideration was the apportioning of about ten feet at the south end for this purpose. This was shut off by means of a white painted rail, and enclosed what the worshippers reverently regarded as a most holy place, not to be trodden upon needlessly by any, in that it was set apart solely for those set apart to minister in holy things. Within this enclosure were two white painted pulpits eight feet in height, each standing very near the wall and very near the rail. These pulpits and the communion rail had been used in the wooden church at St. Peter's; but as they were not needed in the stone church, they were taken up to St. Mary's la Prairie and installed there. A communion table stood in the usual place beneath the window in the centre, and on each side of it stood a high chair made of birch and painted black. The pews were made and provided entirely by the people, and it is noteworthy as showing the mechanical skill of the Portage pioneers that there were not many families which did not provide their own pew. A common model was first decided on and then passed from one to the other. A pew had two heavy oak ends, the top of each being finished off in seven curves which must have taxed not only the skill but the patience of the workmen. The bodies of the pews were of poplar and basswood, and included a book and kneeling board. They were unpainted, and could not have looked more alike had they been the work of one carpenter.

In this church the congregation of St. Mary's worshipped for twenty-two years—from 1855 to 1877. From its sixty-foot tower there rang out every Sunday an invitation to assemble for worship; and at the appointed hour the members of the congregation were to be found in their places. Sharp on time the venerable Archdeacon walked up the aisle, and entered the pulpit in the west corner. When he appeared above the reading board he was surpliced, but minus the bands. These he took from between the leaves of his bible, and fastened while facing the congregation; and the

expression on his face while doing so, became so fastened in my memory that I oft regretted not being artist enough to commit it to paper, as the Archdeacon had died without ever having his picture taken. A few months ago, however, there came my way just what I was waiting for. Miss Cornell of the *Winnipeg Tribune* staff started writing a series of articles on the historic churches of Red River, and the necessary illustrations connected therewith were being provided by the Tribune artist, Mr. Gibson. When giving some information in connection with this undertaking, I was glad to find that in his opinion it was not too late to get the thing desired; and so we collaborated in the matter, and after he had studied the features and facial expressions as shown in photographs of some of the Archdeacon's descendants of the second, third and fourth generations, he produced a likeness which came up to the expectations of others besides myself who knew Archdeacon Cochrane well. And others when separately shown the likeness, at once pronounced it that of the Archdeacon.

No musical instrument was used in any of the Red River churches in Archdeacon Cochrane's time, and they did not seem to suffer musically or spiritually on that account, for after the hymn was announced and the precentor had sung the first three or four notes, the congregation "caught on," and they threw such heartiness into their song that there was not much room for anything artificial. The three parts—treble, base and tenor—could always be distinctly heard, and occasionally an alto as well. The time was regular; but in these days would be considered a little slow.

No doubt the introduction of instrumental music into our religious services has added much to their enjoyment and edification; but very likely if oftener we would allow our beautiful organs to remain quiet while we praised the Lord with heart and voice only, it would be even more enjoyable and edifying.



CHAPTER. TWELVE

1851-1857 (Continued)

Blackbird and Grasshopper Handicaps at Portage

IT does not follow that because Archdeacon Cochrane was successful as a missionary, and at the same time successful as a farmer, that therefore missionaries who copy his example in this respect are likely to meet with similar results. The men are few and far between who can work the gospel plough and the agricultural one side by side and make a success of both; and Archdeacon Cochrane was one of the few, and he had the spiritual, mental and physical qualifications for the difficult task; but even at that, let it be noted that his health gave way, and that thereafter he left the working of his farm to hired help.

After his move to Portage la Prairie, Archdeacon Cochrane repeated his successes among English-speaking settlers to an even more marked degree than in Red River. In a few years three parishes were established, each with its church and school, viz: St. Mary's Portage la Prairie, St. Margaret's, High Bluff, and St. Ann's, Poplar Point. In the Indian department of his work he met with less success than at St. Peter's. The explanation for that is to be found in the facts that at St. Peter's he had to deal mostly with Indians of the Cree tribe, whereas at Portage he came in contact almost entirely with Saukteaux. And the Indians of this tribe as a whole cling tenaciously to the superstitions of their forefathers. And although like their chief Peguis they were always the friends of the Whites, there were few who followed their chief's example and advice by becoming Christians, and of

these a very rare one indeed who, like him, succeeded in overcoming a weakness for intoxicating drink.

Archdeacon Cochrane evidently met with some encouragement in his work among the Portage Indians, for the St. Mary's register shows that a small percentage of them were baptized. And he was not wont to admit an applicant or catechumen into the church unless there were the necessary evidences of sincerity.

Although Portage la Prairie was well within the tract of country for which Lord Selkirk had made treaty with the Indians, Archdeacon Cochrane took the wise precaution of having a special treaty made with the Whites and Indians resident in the locality, according to which the settlers were to have all the timber they needed for building purposes, and all the fence poles and fuel needed; and, in the prairie, all the land they needed for cultivation, and also pasture and hay privileges, in return for which each settler was to pay the Indians every fall or during winter one bushel of wheat or its equivalent. An Indian by the name of *Pa-kwah-ki-kun* was named as chief, and to him this wheat was to be annually paid.

The Indians used some of this wheat for making soup, *mee-chim-a-poi*, they called it, and some of it they crisped in a frying pan held over the fire until it began to pop: this they called *cas-pi-si-ka-nuk*, crisp stuff; and no doubt after a little butter had been added to this crisp stuff, and it had undergone mastication between faultless molars, it would slide down very pleasantly, and for the time being at any rate the lucky Bungee believed in this kind of farming from the bottom of his heart, to say nothing of his stomach, being quite reconciled to the idea of eating his bread by the sweat of any face except his own. And when it is considered that the Crees regarded them as only occupying a place in this part of the country on sufferance, they had good reason to welcome such treatment from the Whites as would tend to weaken this contention of the Crees. Therefore as they smoked Lord Selkirk's tobacco and partook of the parched wheat of Archdeacon Cochrane and his parishioners, they felt that they were being treated with consideration and a desire was aroused within them to show that they were thankful. Albeit

they did not overlook the promises of the life that now is. They really desired to be more civilized, first because they wished to please the "praying master" and secondly because they knew that in the future as in the past, however abundant the supply of food might be, nearly always there was bound to be sometimes a painful gap, when they would be subjected to great suffering through starvation. One thing was clear enough, if they tried civilization under Archdeacon Cochrane and did not make a success of it, they were not going to lose anything. So they tried it tentatively; a few little houses were built at the camping ground near the Hudson's Bay Company trading post, and two of them, Pachitoo and Pi-na-sio-pee put up houses in the middle of the settlement where they would have civilized neighbours.

The following is a list of the Indian families of Portage la Prairie at the time of the Archdeacon's arrival, and without exception they came under his ministrations from time to time. In the case of a man and his wife who accepted Christianity they were baptized, and if they had a family the children were baptized also, after which the parents were married. In the following list Indians who only occasionally visited Portage la Prairie for the purpose of trade, are not included:

Pa-kwah-ki-kun.

Pah-ki-ta-oon, *stricken*.

Pa-chee-too, *image*.

Pi-na-sio-pee, *thunder water*. The site of his house is now covered by the General Hospital.

Kih-chi-wees, *a large tent*.

Ma-chih-ki-wis, *the evil one*.

Kee-na-swa, *cut to a point*.

William Pee-chee, *something moving*.

Pa-ta-ka-koo-si.

Pa-swain, *oily*.

Ma-na-pit, *ugly tooth*.

Wi-si-kun, *sour*.

Kee-koo-sas, *little fish*.

Oo-sa-oo-cheet, *yellow anus*.

Oo-sa-oo-kwon, *yellow quill*.

Mis-si-si-ka-koos, *big little skunk*.

William Cochrane.
 Kwing-gwa-ha-ka, *wolverine.*
 Mus-ka-goo, *a Swampy.*
 Moo-soos, *the calf of a moose.*
 Nee-can-ji-wun, *before the current.*
 Kih-chip-i-nas, *the great bird.*
 Oo-ki-ma-wi-nin, *the man in power.*
 Ain-di-bah-ting, *sitting firmly by it.*
 Ka-pa-yu-tungh, *staying by it always.*
 At-a-ka-wi-nin, *gambler.*
 William Hodgson.
 Wee-skoop.

Among those who expressed a willingness to cultivate the soil, and to adopt the methods of civilized people, and to exchange at least periodically, the wandering tent for a log house, was the Indian Pacheetoo. This man bore a striking resemblance not only to Esau the cunning hunter of the field, but also to Jacob the cunning man of business. In fact although he had but one eye, he could see as far as any other Indian, while the eye of his understanding reached far beyond their ken. He was a man with a seeing eye. And there can be no question that he closely observed the doings of Archdeacon Cochrane, and decided that his mode of life was superior to his own. It could be said advisedly of this particular Indian, without excepting men of any other colour that he was a man of superior mentality, and in his own sphere he was doubtless as far removed from mediocrity as the Archdeacon himself was in his, and each gave proof of mental acumen and sound judgment when he saw in the other a man to be respected. And even allowing that Pacheetoo never rose to great spiritual heights, when one considers the manner of his upbringing, his frequent contact with American traders, and the ruin of the Saulteaux hunting grounds at Portage la Prairie by the influx of Sioux Indians in 1863, large allowance is to be made for the man, if after the death of the Archdeacon he left the Portage without making a full surrender of himself to the requirements of the Christian faith.

Owing to his house being conspicuously situated near the public road, and in the centre of the settlement, owing also to

his being a friendly and gentlemanly Indian, the members of the community paid considerable attention to what he was doing, and were especially interested in his approaches to civilization, which often supplied a topic of conversation when the weather and other subjects failed.

Pacheetoo's house stood at what is now the corner of Crescent Avenue and Broadway. Next to the Parsonage it was the largest house in the parish, and also had the distinction of being the only house besides the church and parsonage, with a shingle roof, the others being thatched. It was whitewashed within and without. Doors and windows were painted a bright red—the red man's invariable choice of colours. All in all, Pacheetoo was a progressive citizen, with a taste for things elegant and comfortable; and the Archdeacon made the most of these traits so as to encourage more of the other settlers to a like wholesome ambition; for it cannot be denied that many of these Portage pioneers were far too easily satisfied with make-shifts. Though so expert in the use of tools, a one-roomed house satisfied them, even where there was a large family growing into manhood and womanhood. Such primitive simplicity among a lot of carpenters living on the edge of a forest was a thing to be discouraged as smacking too much of a cave-dwelling ancestry.

If Pacheetoo's house was in itself an object of interest, its contents were even more so, for therein were to be found things both curious and useful. The candle-stick of many of the settlers was liable to be just a stick for sticking a candle into, in other words, a short piece of plank with an auger-hole in the centre; but Pacheetoo's light shone from a more elegant setting.

He sometimes made a journey into the country of Uncle Sam, and when he returned his neighbours would be on the *qui vive* to see or hear some new thing—anything in fact from a humming top to a violin. Returning from one of these excursions, he brought back, among other things, two glass candlesticks; and it was not long till every inhabitant of the place had seen them. Opportunities were not lacking, for when the weather permitted his front door stood open, and on a table in the centre of the large room within could be seen the glass candlesticks in the centre of his collection of curios.

At the age of fourteen the writer was present at a lecture in Pacheetoo's house, when, as I see it now, there were present three men who, in their respective callings, were the greatest celebrities of the country, viz: Archdeacon Cochrane, Mr. Oliver Gowler, a Headingly farmer, and Mr. Pacheetoo.

The lecturer on the occasion was Mr. Gowler, who was regarded in his day as the most successful farmer in Red River. And at the invitation of the Archdeacon he came to Portage la Prairie to give a lecture on agricultural economy. I fear the lecture did not do much good to the most of us; personally I considered that I already knew too much about agriculture, whatever my father might have thought about it; and I attended for the sake of entertainment. And I was not disappointed. For over an hour I studied the glass candlesticks; and I remember that the noted agriculturist snuffed both candles before wading into his subject, and I gathered from amusing remarks overheard on the way home that in the opinion of a number of the buffalo-hunting farmers the honours of the occasion were pretty evenly divided between Mr. Gowler and his agricultural methods and Pacheetoo and his glass candlesticks. Speaking the other day to a lady who is nearing her seventieth year, and was a child when with her parents she came from Ontario in 1862, she mentioned a pitcher which was among Pacheetoo's possessions, and said she had frequently thought of it since because of its striking pattern and shape.

For the amusement of children of both sexes and various ages Pacheetoo did not appear to set much store by rag or wooden dolls of amateur make; but provided them with something which more effectively appealed to their fun-loving natures in another product of American ingenuity in the form of a mechanical toy which on being fastened to the table and wound up went through a series of performances to the astonishment and delight of children both young and old.

Among other of his civilized notions, Pacheetoo tried to have a lawn. Securing seed from somewhere in the States, he sowed it and awaited results, but no change took place in front of his house, unless it was that the low-growing and accommodating house-weed or knot-grass (*avicularia*), appeared in unusual profusion,

suggesting the suspicion that some smart American may have played a practical joke upon him, knowing that there was little danger of it being charged against him as an indictable offence. After this one attempt at lawn-making he confined himself to his own line of business—that of dealing in horse flesh and pelts—a business in which he could take care of himself with any man on either side of the international boundary.

With all his love of wandering the Indian usually has some spot which he favours, and to which his thoughts will turn as to something in the nature of a home, because it permits of many families making it their annual or semi-annual rendezvous for whole moons at a time, and thus enjoying the pleasures of social intercourse on a larger scale than is always practicable to those who live by the chase. And Portage la Prairie had come to be regarded as such a home or rendezvous by the Indians found there by the pioneer settlers from Red River; and no wonder, for it was a veritable hunter's paradise. And while one feels that he must not regret, he cannot but wonder, and almost applaud the communistic daring of the untutored Indian, who after having had his chance to observe what civilization does to hunting grounds which teemed with wild life which was very much his life, he submits calmly and even cheerfully when self-invited civilization once more steps up to his door and offers an interchange of commodities. The simple trustfulness with which the weaker party in this case accepts the assurances of the stronger is something which may well touch the heart of every man with a right sense of justice and honour.

The Portage Bungees knew what had happened to the Red River and other of their hunting grounds, therefore they knew what was bound to happen at Portage la Prairie; but, thank God, they had not yet learned to apply the White man's forethought selfishly, so they opened their arms wide to the pioneers who had followed them; they ungrudgingly made room for them and the two dwelt together in amity for sixteen years, and would have continued to do so much longer but for the intrusion of other elements which it was not in their power to prevent, such as the arrival of the Sioux and of the whiskey-trader. The Saulteaux of Portage la Prairie were not responsible for this invasion; but no

one suffered from it more than they; and in assigning blame for unlawful deeds perpetrated after the period above named, all Whites should first of all divest themselves of the too common opinion that they are morally superior to the Indians, and that the latter are alike despicable. The Indian differentiates between good and bad among the White, and he expects similar consideration when under appraisalment by the Whites. Every kindly disposed and fair-minded citizen of Portage la Prairie, even if he did not happen to be in the place during the first two decades of its history as a settlement, will no doubt have kindly thoughts of the good-hearted Saukteaux who dwelt beside those first settlers as friends and neighbours, generously living up to the poetic sentiment:

"Man wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long."

If the Portage pioneers were in a manner outlawed by the Hudson's Bay Company, they showed no signs of languishing on that account, on the contrary they seemed to thrive, and be as happy as their congeners who continued to dwell under the aegis of the aforementioned corporation; and there was no reason why it should not be so; geographically and otherwise they were too near to be other than dear to one another; and allowing that there was a little unpleasantness in connection with the inception of the newer settlement, it never at any time took the form of animosity. The interdependence of the two places made them one, and I suppose that F. L. Hunt's encomiums of Red River in his "Britain's One Utopia" did not exclude Portage la Prairie.

There were several respects in which the pioneers of Archdeacon Cochrane had the advantage over those of Lord Selkirk. These were in the mind of the former when he spoke to Messrs. Ross and Caldwell of the place where the latter should have located his colony. But the greatest advantage of all which was enjoyed by the men of Portage la Prairie was their gift of tongues. There was hardly a man among them who was not able to converse freely in English, Cree and Saukteaux. And there can be no doubt that if the nations of the earth had remained unafflicted with a confusion of tongues, they would have been able in the main to thrash out their difficulties without the aid of a sword or a spear.

Not only did their knowledge of the Cree enable the Portage settlers to maintain pleasant relations with the natives who belonged to the district, but it also enabled them to associate freely with the French Half-castes who in considerable numbers with their brigades of carts annually passed through Portage in the beginning of summer on their way to the buffalo hunt, and returning in the autumn, often rested for a few days in Portage before proceeding to White Horse Plains, now called St. Francois Xavier. And the opportunity thus offered of renewing former acquaintanceships as they conversed in Cree, the mother tongue of both, doubtless helped to improve the Anglo-French and Anglo-French-native situations in the country.

Speaking of the benefits which have accrued from having a language in common, the writer is reminded of the uncommon language of the Red River carts when they arrived in Portage in autumn loaded with the products of the chase. If it happened to be calm when they were approaching the settlement they announced the fact by a most terrible noise, which sometimes could be heard when the brigade was still miles away. A remarkable vehicle was the Red River cart, and although it has never been classed as a musical instrument, had it not unfortunately gone out before the phonograph came in, it might have left behind a record which would have been most interesting as a relic of "Ye Olden Time." In the absence of any such reminder we shall have to accept the bagpipes as a fairly good substitute; and in saying this no disparagement of either as a vehicle of sound is intended. Most writers who refer to the musical functions of the Red River cart frankly admit that it defies their powers of description. Mr. Charles Mair wrote: "To hear a thousand of these wheels all creaking and groaning at the same time is a sound never to be forgotten;" again, "The creaking of the wheels of the Red River cart is indescribable. It is like no sound you ever heard in your life, and makes your blood run cold." Perhaps that would depend on the state of one's blood or his larder. Certainly it did not affect the blood of the Portagees in that way. To them it was not an unearthly sound, but a combination of the earthly and heavenly. One good old sport who had the misfortune to stutter, and who in his day had likely eaten at least a score of buffalo, was once heard

to say after having swallowed his last mouthful of buffalo meat, "I spose I won't see any more per-per-perveesions (provisions) till my cha-cha-chachiwam comes." Even those of the settlers who were sufficiently well-off to keep their table the year round supplied with substantial food, were always glad to be enabled to place thereon a menu varied with the products of the buffalo hunt. To all the settlers, therefore, the sounds emanating from the heavily laden carts spoke pleasantly of choice morsels of bison, such as tongues, briskets, bosses and backfats. And of all the work which, as a boy, I was called upon to do between meals, nothing pleased me better than to dispose of a nice crisp piece of buffalo dried meat in which there was a pronounced streak of backfat.

Every settler had someone among the Metis who called him "ni-chiwam," my cousin, and if the person so addressed did not want to show himself painfully lacking in friendliness and good manners, there was nothing for it but to reciprocate both in word and deed. The Chiwam relationship did not live on air, but on spontaneous and mutual acts of friendliness, usually given and received in the form of Indian presents. In the course of my dealings with Indians and French Half-castes I have had occasion to study this peculiar method of making presents and my verdict is that while on the whole it brings pleasure, there are times when however tactful one may try to be, it is a case of "pleasure bought with pain."

My father, I have no doubt, was a perfect master of the art, as he had before settling down for life been a trader in the Hudson's Bay Company service, and afterwards a school teacher and interpreter in the pay of the Church Missionary Society; and as he kept a small store in addition to working a farm, he was always in good form to deal in Indian presents—or to engage in a straight business transaction.

I probably would not be justified in saying that the French Half-caste who called my father Ni Chiwam did so from mercenary motives. I believe he was genuinely generous. His given name was Antoine; but I never ascertained whether his right surname was Fayan or O'Jew. When speaking of his honourary relative father always favoured the latter, possibly for the sole reason

that it reminded him of a certain ancient people. When Mr. O'Jew handed father a couple of buffalo tongues, or a bladder of marrow fat, or a boss, father looked happy—possibly he was—but as near as I could calculate by the time the transaction was closed Mr. O'Jew had good reason to be the happier of the two.

In the foregoing the impression is correctly conveyed that the Indian present transaction was usually begun by the French Half-caste, and if asked for an explanation he would perhaps have answered that it was because he belonged to a generous race, while the explanation of the offspring of Britannia for not taking the initiative in this matter would doubtless have been that he more wisely discriminated than his French Chiwam when adapting himself to the practices of the race whence came the mothers of both. At any rate our racial pretensions and predilections are amusing in their inconsistency. A Cree or Saulteaux if asked the question as to which race was most like his own, the French, the English or Scottish, would no doubt have answered, the French, and have so answered without any thought of a compliment to or a reflection on the character of any one, yet that same Indian would far more readily apply the term, "Mooniyas," *greenhorn*, to a fresh arrival from England or Scotland than to a Frenchman coming straight from Paris or Quebec, simply because the last named so much more readily adapted himself to Indian customs. And yet, I am not so sure that in the back of his head there was not the consciousness that in some things he was superior to the White man, and that the race which was quickest to discover that fact and to assimilate with them was the least likely to produce greenhorns. Nevertheless, whatever the conceits regarding superiority which any of these races, whether white or red may have indulged, when it came to the matter of furnishing dependable evidence of what each felt to be the truth, then it was that poor Lo was found to have abandoned the last shred of a claim which long ago he might have advanced, for he acted the role of inferior as effectively as if he had declared to the Whites in so many words, "I said ye are gods. Take unto yourselves wives of the daughters of the land." And for these *fair* Indian presents there has not been a *fair* return. And while this is easy enough to understand it does not somehow conform to one's conception of

a square deal. But I suppose there is nothing that can be done about it; nevertheless before getting off this extremely thin ice, the writer begs to say that he has known a few cases where the head of the family was an Indian and his life companion a white woman; and there was every appearance of the arrangement being satisfactory to themselves and their friends; but this, too, is easy to understand when it is stated that their environments were favourable. I have also known a white man who married a white woman of whom he was bereaved while still in his prime. Later he married an Indian woman whom he also outlived. And after these experiences he held the opinion that the matrimonial alliance which held out the brighter hope of a contented and happy life for both man and woman was the one in which the nationality of the former gave colour to the idea that he was on that account superior and the better fitted to carry out the intention of the ordnant of the institution that the man should be the head of the wife. And that too is easy to understand.

But, after all, what matters it, if, in the relationships of life, the one who has the advantage in the matter of sex, or of race, or of any other circumstance is like others liable to failure. And as long as a man is liable to sell his birth-right for a mess of pottage what can be expected but disappointment and heart-ache? Obviously then to every man on the earth the words might fittingly be addressed, "one thing yet thou lackest;" and again, "with all thy getting get understanding;" not an understanding of problems which only the man of extraordinary mentality can expect to grapple with successfully, but the wisdom which cometh from above and enables the man of low degree to lay hold of eternal life and to walk safely in the light of faith and love until he arrives safe home at last.

Mr. Ross might well call it a miracle that the various races in Red River lived so amicably together during a period when there was no military force established in the country, and when notwithstanding a steady increase in the population, there was not as yet even the Council of Assiniboia to function as best it could by moral suasion and the help of a sheriff and a few constables. It was a miracle—that of the cross. The missionaries at the time in the country adorned the doctrines which they

taught. This, too, is the real explanation of the Whites and Indians living so peacefully together as they did at Portage la Prairie. As already said, it was, of course, a great advantage that they could converse together in the native tongue and so get to understand each other's natures. But the real advantage which they enjoyed together, which was more important to them than all the others, was that of having the gospel faithfully preached to them by Archdeacon Cochrane, and so exemplified in his daily life that none but the most incorrigible could have witnessed it without being influenced for good.

For a short time after the church was built there were no services of a Sunday specially intended for the Indians; but sometimes a few of them would turn up at the morning service, among them probably our most civilized Indian, Pacheetoo. As before stated, Pacheetoo had but one eye, a fact which he did not very successfully conceal, by allowing a lock of hair to fall over the vacant spot. It, however, had the affect of producing a facial expression suggestive of shrewdness. Whenever he was present the service was a good deal longer, but the cause of the difference was always appreciated. The Archdeacon at the close of the sermon would get my father to interpret for him a sentence or so at a time, and thus we got a *resume* of the sermon in both English and Bungee. Each time the interpreter paused, Pacheetoo politely showed his interest and attention by giving the Indian expression of assent—"Ang." *A hard word to spell*; but you will hit near the mark if you will prolong the *a* and sound it as *a* in fate, and give the *n* a distinctly nasal inflection with an almost imperceptible one for the *g*.

Archdeacon Cochrane evidently agreed with others in regarding Pacheetoo as no uncommon man, for he gave him a seat at his table on several occasions, although the writer has been told that on such occasions Mrs. Cochrane was not present, and it has occurred to me that the guest may have been uncomfortably affected by her absence, for even allowing that his table manners may not have been quite up to the mark, he had the soul of the gentleman which under like circumstances can be trusted to carry one gracefully over breaks.

It has already been stated that the form of the Portage settlement was very favourable for the making of straight cuts from one place to another, and the place where such a cut could be made with considerable gain to the community was between the church and parsonage at Pratt's Landing and the Old Fort beside which was the Indian School and the Indian Camping ground. To this the Archdeacon gave his attention as soon as he got his work among the Indians fairly under way; for it meant the reducing of his journey there and back from four miles to two, with the further advantage that the shorter road would be well sheltered, while the longer one was exposed all the way round. This new road which lay in the same general direction, did not quite ignore an old Indian bridle path; but in order that this sinuous path might be straightened and widened sufficiently to admit of two carts meeting and passing, quite a number of large trees had to be cut level with the ground and rolled aside. As this road parted from the bush at its eastern edge on Garrioch's Creek on my father's farm, we could notice the Archdeacon as he passed to and fro along this road in winter. He rode in the low solid-runner cariole in use in those days. It was drawn by a good-sized bay horse, known far beyond the confines of Portage la Prairie by the name of Bob. When Bob arrived with his master in Portage he was already known as "Old Bob," although it is hardly likely that he was the same horse which figured in that notable ride by the Chief's son when the Archdeacon was teaching the Indians at St. Peter's how to farm.

Bob had the reputation of being a cunning animal. On one occasion the writer saw him suddenly come to a dead stop in the middle of a good road with no one in sight and no one in the buggy excepting the Archdeacon. The only apparent cause for this sudden halt in his habitual five-miles-an-hour jog was a slight depression spoken of in our family as "the Valley." It was there that Bob paused seemingly without any just cause or impediment. For the space of one minute the Archdeacon did nothing. Then he spoke to Bob, first kindly, then after a slight pause, sternly; then he shook the reins—Bob shook his head. Thereupon the Archdeacon alighted and releasing him from the shafts gave him several sharp cuts with the whip. I have said

that there was nobody in sight from where this was happening; and there was not; for the writer was very securely concealed in the long grass beyond a snake fence about twenty yards away, instinctively feeling that the Archdeacon and his horse would probably prefer settling their little differences without a witness. The concealment of the boy who is telling this story won't look so bad for him if you change the word concealment to self-effacement, and let it also be remembered that this was the blackbird season, and that after clearing those pests off a field of grain, he was taking a well-earned rest at his post of duty, when the free show which is being described unexpectedly came upon him. This little story I am pleased to say has a happy ending, for when Bob who had seemingly learned to draw a conclusion as well as a buggy had been reinstated into his former honourable position between the shafts, and his master gathering up the reins and getting into the buggy, said in a stentorian voice—"Go," he went.

Some time ago the writer was told that Bob did not long survive his master, and that his last days were spent at Westbourne, and that his bones and those of another horse who did faithful service for another missionary, Rev. Thomas Cook, a long time the beloved pastor at Westbourne, are laid together in the keeping of Mother Earth, close to the Westbourne Church, and that there has been a serious proposal to have them removed and placed in a museum. The intention was no doubt good; but if the views of those who owned the noble creatures had to be considered we would be safe in giving the ruling in their behalf that their horses were prized by them as a means whereby they could widen their sphere of labour without making it unduly strenuous, and that for that reason they well merited kind and considerate treatment; but that after being relieved of the burden of the flesh, it was just the same with them as with their masters—they weren't any good as relics.*

Of all the hindrances to pleasant farming which had to be encountered at Portage la Prairie, that presented by the blackbirds was by far the most formidable; but even with that disadvantage

*Rev. Thomas Cook was a grandson of the Mr. Cook who was gratefully remembered by the colonists for kindnesses shown them on their arrival at Fort Nelson on their way to Red River; and he was a son of the Mr. Cook who under Archdeacon Cochrane, conducted the Indian School at St. Peter's.

the first three or four years in the history of the settlement were evenly quiet and progressive; and then in 1857, there occurred a serious setback caused by a visit from the grasshoppers. The farms, at this time, with the exception of the Archdeacon's, were mere garden patches. My father's, which was next in size, did not exceed ten acres. It lay within the bush and was on the site of an Indian camping ground. In this grasshopper year it had been mostly seeded to barley, and gave promise of a splendid yield; and with a view to the realization of this promise, a brother eleven years of age, and myself, two years younger, had been for a month in daily conflict with the blackbirds. It has been said that the formation of the settlement was handy for the settlers, and it was certainly handy for the blackbirds as well; for in the swamp they bred in thousands, and the only chance of saving the grain in the little fields was to guard it with unceasing vigilance. "The early bird that gets the worm" is all right; but the thousands of early birds that George and I had to do with did not confine their diet to early worms, but were alert to get a chance to fill up on our grain any time between sunrise and sunset. A visitor from Red River on his return was wont to amuse his friends for a long time afterwards by telling of the terrible scare he got when visiting Portage la Prairie. Of how, having arrived late at night, he was extra soundly asleep in the morning, when he was startled by the report of firearms, and the greatest variety of yells that he had ever heard in all his life; and of the great relief that it was to his feelings when he learned that the settlement was not being attacked by the Sioux, but only by blackbirds.

One fine afternoon in August my brother and I had bawled and chased the last of the birds out of the field and were resting, while the birds, perched on the surrounding trees, were treating or teasing us with a song, as if to remind us of twenty-four blackbirds baked in a pie, when we suddenly became aware that something unusual was happening. The sun was shining less brightly; the song of the birds had ceased, and looking upwards we saw what resembled an assemblage of snowflakes drifting southeastward, and about the same time it began to snow grasshoppers, and first one bird and then another would make a dive after one and capture it before it reached the ground.

Next morning we were allowed to sleep till after sunrise. It was a sort of armistice day. There was nothing left to fight about. The grasshoppers had cut the heads off the barley during the night, and were breakfasting on them on the ground in the morning.

A few days later, father arrived from St. Paul, U.S.A., bringing among other things a reaping machine, the first seen in Portage. It was a J. C. Manning. The grasshoppers having already attended to the harvesting, the usefulness of the harvester had to be confined to the hay-field where it did fine work drawn by a heavy yoke of fast-stepping oxen. Father and mother took the loss of the barley quite philosophically, and as for brother and me, we had seen the silver lining in the grasshopper cloud. It was our job of a winter evening to pearl enough barley for the next day's soup—now there would be no barley to pearl; and as it happened we were not partial to barley soup at any rate.

As already stated, Archdeacon Cochrane's success with the Saulteaux of Portage la Prairie was not nearly as great as with the Crees of St. Peter's, a difference to be accounted for by the marked difference of character of the two tribes. Allow that he worked there in his prime and here as a man well on in years, he was still full of zeal and energy, and had an equally faithful assistant as school-teacher and interpreter. Stating the case figuratively; on his farm he had a soil which yielded equally good results with only half the labour, while in the mission field the same amount of labour as was bestowed at St. Peter's, here brought forth only half the results. In the spiritual realm he had to deal with a tougher soil.

The difference in results was certainly not in the least due to his having a better knowledge of one language than of the other, for he probably could not speak a half dozen words of either. It takes a wise man to discover in time to save himself trouble, where he can apply his talents to the best purpose; and probably the Archdeacon had made the discovery before he became a missionary, that he did not have the making of a linguist. The writer often heard him, when shaking hands with an Indian, repeat what he supposed was an Indian word—"wachee, wachee." However,

later on, as my knowledge increased, I discovered that *wa-chee* was intended for the two English words "what cheer," a form of salutation common at the time in one or more counties of England.

There can be no question that the person who undertakes to become a missionary needs to place first of all in his equipment for the position a knowledge of the language of the people among whom he is to work. How it was, therefore, that one who was as innocent of the gift of tongues as was Archdeacon Cochrane, should have been so successful as a missionary, is something which would call for a more elaborate explanation than I care to attempt at this time; suffice it to say, that he had many compensating advantages. But here I shall content myself with singling out just one which can be most readily appreciated. In his case, there was bestowed upon a great muscular body a correspondingly great soul. Contrast this to the position of an equally great soul compressed into an insignificant body, which I admit is *not supposed* to matter much with Christians, although without any pretence it does matter a lot with heathens. And the writer candidly admits that with the rising generation of the Archdeacon's latter years, he had somehow got to favour the view that it would not materially detract from the merits of moral suasion to be able at times to supplement the same by drawing upon a reserve force of muscular power. Far be it from me, however, to connect my own one time erroneous convictions with the walk and conversation of the justly revered Archdeacon, even if I did, unknown to him once witness the castigation of Bob. My point is that the moralist who is endowed with unusual muscular power has in that same an advantage which employed with discretion may compensate for one which he does not possess; and here it will be in order to mention several instances in which Archdeacon Cochrane exercised this talent effectively.

For the following see "Leaders of The Canadian Church," by Canon Bertal Heeney, page 56. A sketch of the life of Archdeacon Cochrane by Sheriff Inkster.

"Many stories of the Archdeacon's muscular encounters with bad men are kept alive and related with pride by his people and their descendants. One of these was told to me by a man who was for many years a servant of his. He related how that on a Sunday,

when he accompanied the Archdeacon to St. Peter's, they were met by an Indian who complained that his wife had been induced to leave him, by a depraved Half-breed. Mr. Cochrane addressing his servant said, 'Jack, this will never do. Go to the woods and bring me three young saplings as thick as your thumb.' Armed with these and accompanied by his servant and the deserted husband, he made his way to the Indian's tent, and called upon the offender to come forth, which he refused to do. Forthwith Mr. Cochrane overthrew the tent and set upon the Half-breed, first with one rod and then with the other, and finally with the third, until he had impressed upon his back, and probably upon his mind as well, the meaning of the tenth commandment. The encounter was not by any means an uneven one in the early stages, for the Half-breed like the preacher, was a man of powerful build. Having washed himself after the struggle, the doughty champion of morals returned to the church and delivered his sermon to the assembled congregation."


While at Portage la Prairie the writer knows of only one instance in which it became necessary for the Archdeacon to pit his strength against that of another man. This happened in a group of two or three houses which stood a little east and not far from the parsonage. Of the men belonging to these houses only one was home at the time, and he had imbibed enough whiskey to render the situation unpleasant for the women and bad for the few pieces of rough furniture which they possessed. So one of them hurriedly sought help of the Archdeacon, who was quickly on the spot, and although he was then a score of years over the age at which prudent fighters retire from the ring, he succeeded in subduing his man without much difficulty. We may well believe that it would be very painful to so good a man to correct *fallen arches* in unfortunate pilgrims by subjecting them to this heroic form of treatment; but he made no complaint. It was all in the day's work. Nevertheless it must have been much more to his liking to employ his strength in a more peaceful undertaking, as for instance when at the building of a church two men together having unsuccessfully attempted to place a foundation stone or timber in position, he had accomplished the task single-handed, remarking before he did so, "This is where I shine."



CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1857-1862

The First Red River Settlement Newspaper

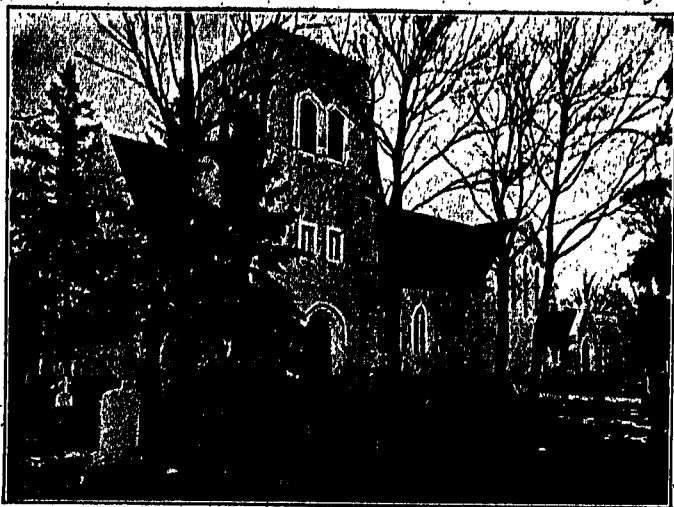
S an appropriate comment on the five monosyllabic words with which the previous chapter was closed, I would begin this one by saying that Archdeacon Cochrane was stronger than Samson; and I make the statement believing it to be true, and to the best of my knowledge, original as well.

What a deal of heart-ache might have been prevented if we boys upon making the disappointing discovery that we were destined to be physically mere feather-weights, could have been persuaded to give our earthy ambitions second place, and to put in our most strenuous practice in order to excel in the good fight of faith. The trouble in my young days was that we laid too much stress on the Samsonic quality of Archdeacon Cochrane, and not enough on "the better part which shall never be taken from him." We should have taken home the thought that a man whose strength is in his hair is not to be compared to one whose strength is in his heart; that between the two there is just that difference which exists between the outer and the inner man—the difference between what goes with the animal and that which constitutes strength of character. Yet although it be admitted that no amount of physical strength can compensate for weakness in character, it must also be admitted that the former simple conception of strength—that of muscularity—is much the more popular. Practically most boys and young men say, give me the muscularity and I'll take a risk about the other.

In the early days of the Red River there was much to foster this idea of the superiority of the muscular man. The Hudson's Bay Company made its annual call for voyageurs and thus developed a class of men who were famous for their strength and prowess. They were fine material from which to develop athletes, those first sons who came of a union between a White man and an Indian woman, and they were raised for the most part on the plains on a buffalo diet. They did not know anything, nor do I about the vitamine content of pemmican; but as a food-stuff for raising strong men it takes second place to no other, not even oatmeal. Brought up as these boys were it is not to be wondered at that they grew up strong men and that they knew it; and from the nature of their calling it is not any more strange that they did not stop short of ascertaining who was the strongest man among them all. This point was settled annually at the important stopping places, Fort Garry, Norway House, Long Portage and York Factory. It was settled by means of a wrestling contest, and the man who could down all competitors was distinguished by the rather unflattering title of bully or bullyer, and he showed his distinction as such by wearing a feather; and there were men who bore that title and sported that feather year after year. And such a man, even supposing he had no education, could hold his head high, and if *morally* as well, *he was a man*, he was respected by the Governour and the Chief Factor, and I have no doubt by the church dignitary as well. All of which goes to show that after all it is strength of character or goodness which can turn uncommon physical strength into compensating advantage for some talent or talents which may be lacking.

THE FIRST INDIAN SCHOOL OF PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

There was no Indian School at Portage la Prairie until 1858, the year after the Archdeacon had moved up with his family. In that year Malcolm Cummings became one of the Portage settlers, and located beside the Indian camping ground. There he took up a farm for himself, and besides acting as interpreter for the Archdeacon at a Sunday afternoon service, he taught a day school for the benefit of the Indian children. The average attendance at the service and at the day school was about thirty. Mr.



PRESENT ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL



ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH AS AT PRESENT

Cummings retained charge of this school until 1865, the year of the Archdeacon's death. The aim in this Indian school and the one at the east end for the children of the settlers, as well as in every Anglican parish "school" in the Red River Settlement conducted under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, was to give a good working knowledge of the three R's, and that, not to the exclusion of the fourth and most important R, Religion.

On school days at the Portage Indian School the children were treated to a good warm dinner, in which barley soup and pemmican played an important part, and doubtless when the hungry young Indians came to this part of the day's proceedings, they were not much in accord with the proverb which saith that "there is no royal road to learning." Poor little Red-skins! A few of them are left still, who, as old people are awaiting "the call," on the Sand Hill Reserve ten miles west of the city. Occasionally one of them accosts me on the street, and with a friendly smile and "Hol hol" reminds me of his father's name, and mentions the name of mine; and then we compare the present times with the former and are quite agreed that "the old is better," and then we go on our respective ways, glad to have met and hoping to meet again.

Had I been asked what were the visible results remaining of what had been done for the Indian, I would have answered, I am no spiritual valuator. In the institution from which he graduated, those in charge lived up to instructions, they fed the hungry, gave medicine to the sick, clothes to the naked, and the question as to results—often asked in honesty and perplexity—they left where we must leave it—in the hands of Him who has reserved to Himself the means of weighing and measuring spiritual quantities and estimating their precise value. This may be called mere sentiment, nevertheless, it is what has been done under the influence of just such sentiments as these which has made this world—even to the man of cold facts and figures—a nicer place to live in than anything else could have made it.

Those Indian children may have forgotten much that was taught them at school, but it may be confidently asserted that they would never forget the hot meal they received every school day in winter. No doubt to the last each of them could have

recalled the savour and flavour of the *raahaboo* generously dished out to them by Mrs. Cummings, and possibly more distinctly than Mr. Cummings' grace before meat, they could recall his facetious invitation given in either English or Saukteaux, "Now eat," *ghao weewinin*.

After all, the Missionary, or anyone else cannot go far astray when he responds sympathetically and prudently to the innocent and natural crayings of those he seeks to benefit. Surely the Saviour, when He fed the hungry multitude, thereby drew them nearer to Himself and made the way easier for their enlightenment respecting the meat which endureth unto everlasting life.

If we are asked to point to abiding results of Archdeacon Cochrane's work, we can easily do so; but that seems uncalled for since his great services to this country are so generally known and acknowledged. It may, however, be claimed that the best method of computing their value is not to be found within the scope of the three R's, but in that of the fourth, and a practical familiarity with the text book in the study of which he found "the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen." In the many addresses which the writer heard from his lips, he invariably closed with the words, "May God bless His word for His name's sake." And no doubt his every undertaking was begun, continued and ended in the spirit of that prayer, and one has but to cast his eye over the sphere of his forty years of missionary activity to realize that his prayer has been abundantly answered—that God did bless His word and that it accomplished that whereunto he had sent it.

The Indian School under Malcolm Cummings was closed in 1865, and it is something worthy of mention that only sixty-five steps from where his clay-daubed school-house stood, there stands today a magnificent stone and brick building which, too, is an Indian School, having, however, no known connection with the one which has passed away, which was Anglican and supported by the Church Missionary Society, whereas this is United Church and was built by the Federal Government, and is now maintained conjointly by it and the United Church.

This change, it may be said, was consequent upon changes in both the White and Indian population of Portage la Prairie. Most of the Andersons, all the Whitfords and several other families left Portage for Edmonton and Prince Albert and their places were soon taken up by settlers from Eastern Canada and elsewhere. And just at the time when this readjustment was under way there took place the large influx of Sioux from South Dakota and Nebraska; and the exodus of the Bungees then became a foregone conclusion. The Canadians and others farmed so extensively that the Portage district was being rapidly decimated of fur-bearing animals, independent of the toll taken by the Sioux, and knowing that between themselves and this tribe the attitude was one of dislike and distrust, they took the safest course and dispersed. Thus the opportunity of the Anglican Church or any other to give them systematic teaching in Portage la Prairie, for the time being at least, came to an end. And thus these *Saulteaux* whose forefathers a century before had come to occupy this place and the lower Assiniboine country at the invitation of the Stone Sioux, were now crowded out by the other branch of the Sioux Nation—the inveterate foes of themselves and the Assiniboinés.

The terrible state of destitution in which the Sioux arrived in the country did not appeal in vain to the compassion of the settlers who did what they could to ameliorate the hardship of their condition; but otherwise avoided encouraging them to remain, as such a course would have been unfair to the Indians of the country; besides it was hoped that these Indians might by some means be enabled to return whence they came, or to move to where their presence would be less likely to cause trouble. When, however, it became evident that these self-invited guests were here for good the question of what was to be done *with* them had to be changed to what was to be done *for* them. And the question in this form was not to be ignored either from a politic or a Christian point of view; so after their temporal necessities had been provided for, the question of their moral improvement came to the front, and the responsibility for that seemed to rest more particularly upon the Presbyterians as a few of the Sioux professed to belong to that denomination; and to the credit of the Presbyterians be it said, they did not ignore their obligation, and

to the credit of the other denominations be it said, they allowed them a clear field. And thus it was that the Anglican Indian School came to be replaced by one which was Presbyterian.

To Mrs. Walker, a good lady who has long since gone to her reward belongs the honour of having made a beginning in the good work by calling together for worship and instruction the Christian Sioux and as many others as she could gather around her. This soon led to the establishment of an Indian boarding school in the east end of the town. In the course of a few years the growth of this school called for the erection of a larger building, and the principal, Rev. Mr. Hendry, was authorized to look out for a suitable site; and with that object in view, and actuated by no motive or design other than that of securing a location which would best provide room for the contemplated expansion, the selection was made and approved, and the splendid building already mentioned was erected thereon in 1918; and its nearness to the site of the Anglican School which has passed away, might well be regarded as, at least, a remarkable coincidence, while to the humble believer it might well suggest some such thought as that of the Great Master-mind who controls the universe assigning as it were in piece-work the wondrous work of building up the church of His redeemed, until in the fulness of time all the parts shall be assembled and fitted, and the edifice shall be raised, and on its summit shall be placed by the Master Himself the beautiful emblem of His Divine approval, and a multitude which no man can number shall unite their voices in the new song of which the refrain shall be: "We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory."

Once upon a time when the writer was of that age which finds a sort of conceited satisfaction in airing views which are supposed to show to those about him that he possesses a mind of his own, he took issue with a young Anglican clergyman, by making the statement that he did not consider it inconsistent with strict loyalty to the Church of England to make use of extemporary prayer in conjunction with the liturgy, citing in support of this view the regular practice of Archdeacon Cochrane. The answer I got was this—"Oh, he was a Presbyterian." And no doubt his Anglicanism was big enough to embrace Presbyterianism. Fitting, therefore, it would seem to be, that if the fragments of his last

work for the good of the Indians had to be gathered up by a branch of the church other than his own, the Presbyterian Church was the one to engage in the undertaking. But after all, does it matter so much who plants or who may water so long as the Master's work be done? When the day arrives which even now is dawning, and all Christians shall be members of One Church, and become a united and happy family, the greatest joy of retrospection awaits those who always found God's field large enough for every sincere worker, and were wont to give such the right hand of fellowship and to wish them God-speed.

The good work among the Indians accomplished by the missionaries during the Hudson's Bay regime received a serious set-back in the trying and unsettling conditions connected with the transfer of the country to the Canadian Government. Until five or six years before that event, the sale of intoxicants was restricted pretty well to what passed through the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. The liquor sold was therefore mostly of good quality, and dealt out with a circumspection which prevented the Indians from getting it easily. Drunkenness up to that time was restricted almost entirely to the braves, and enabled the wives and maidens to live up to the ethics of their race and to preserve their chastity, so that there was no appreciable degeneracy of the race either physically or morally; but as the country became better known through the reports of travellers, and later, through that vehicle of intelligence, the *Nor'-wester*, there quickly followed the usual harbingers of civilization—an influx of badly assorted characters, the general effect of which is too often, the demoralizing instead of the civilizing of the natives. And in the case of Red River and Portage la Prairie, once the overland route between the settlement and St. Paul, U.S.A., came into general use; train after train of Red River carts annually trekked thither, and after being loaded up with merchandise which had come in by the Northern Pacific Railway, returned creaking and squealing their own requiem while rendering this last service to the country now about to consign them to its backyards in favour of more modern methods of transport. Ungrateful indeed was the service the historically celebrated Red River cart was compelled to perform in its last years in the traffic between St. Paul and Fort Garry,

for in some of those carts was a plentiful supply of whiskey; and White men, who were less white than the Red men, held the intoxicating cup to the lips of the Indians irrespective of sex, and there was lost to many of their race the virtue whose "price is above rubies."

Yet in the Red man's accounting with the Whites he appears to regard himself as the debtor, ready it would seem, to forget all injuries, so long as he is treated with reasonable consideration, and to remember only the benefits which he has received and which continue to be freely offered. We might well have been surprised at their attitude during the World War; for although exempt from the operation of the military service, a very considerable percentage of the Indian population of the Dominion joined the colours and went overseas. They were by no means inferior to the Whites in their willingness to lay down their lives in the defence of the Empire. The writer was present a few years ago when in a cemetery within the little Sioux reserve which is within the limits of the city of Portage la Prairie, the last post was sounded over the grave of an Indian, who had fought in France in the cause of the Empire which had befriended his people in the hour of their extremity. It was in the Indian quota of the Canadian forces that the very pick of scouts and snipers was found. A people who could thus take their lives in their hands, and stand by the Empire in the day of its trial, may well be regarded as deserving the guardian care which has been extended to them under British rule, and it is not too much to hope that with the continued help of their guardians they will eventually shake themselves free of the hereditary weakness for intoxicating drink, until a day comes when they will be able to walk abreast of their White brothers in the matter of temperance and those other qualities which constitute real manhood.

By way of further reference to the Portage Indian School, it is noteworthy that while the efforts of Mrs. Walker were in aid of the Sioux who fled here in 1863, the pupils who now attend the fine school into which that humble beginning developed, are largely of the Saulteaux tribe. We still have the Sioux with us in the little village which has just been mentioned, but much the larger number of Sioux in the country stay further west on the

Griswold Reserve, and of the ninety children attending school at present, only nineteen are Sioux, and they come from the two reserves mentioned, while the other seventy-one pupils are Saukteaux, who come from the Long Plain and other Reserves.

It is pleasant to think of these children whose parents not so long ago were after each other's scalps, now gathered together under the same roof to receive a religious training, which will enable them to forget their old tribal aversions while together they qualify for useful and happy citizenship.

It was quite a stride in the progress of civilization in this country when in the sixth decade of the nineteenth century the settlement of Portage la Prairie was established, according to a plan, which, as has been shown, was set on foot in 1851. By this event as well as that of the great flood of the year following, this particular decade may be regarded as notable; but there is a third event which renders it even more so. This happened on the 29th day of December, 1859, when two gentlemen from Eastern Canada, Messrs. Buckingham and Caldwell, issued the first number of the pioneer newspaper of Manitoba, "*The Nor'-Wester*." The site of the log building in which the paper was printed may be seen today on Notre Dame Avenue East, about one house east of the Corona Hotel.

From the files of this paper I shall now give a number of miscellaneous extracts which, I trust, may be found interesting, and also, be considered not unsuitable as history. The paper was fortnightly, and in the first number was the following prospectus which followed a six-line preface:

"The circumstances which surround the *Nor'-Wester* are, however, to a large extent exceptional. As the first newspaper established in this territory, it is bound, perhaps, by a regard to courtesy, if not interest, to set before the community to which it more especially addresses itself, the purposes it has in view, the plan it has laid down to act upon, the principles by which it will be guided in its career. We came here 'strangers in a strange land.' Not as enemies to spy out its nakedness—not as adventurers indifferent to all considerations save those of self; not as partisans resolved to further the ends of party or of faction at whatever cost

to the peace of the country. We came with a view of making this place our home. We came persuaded that the time has arrived when this fertile and magnificent country thrown open to the people of all lands, needs an exponent of its opinion, its beauty, its varied and yet common interests through the medium of the press. Now the Nor'-Wester shall furnish evidence of the genuineness of our movement—today we scatter it broadcast among those who though personally strangers are already friends—who forgetting their differences which in most other countries are the sources of jealousy, mistrust and contention—the differences of position, origin, religion and language—have cordially united in their good wishes for our success."

In the same number there was also the minutes of a meeting of the Council of Assiniboia, which read:

COUNCIL OF ASSINIBOIA

"The Governour of the Council of Assiniboia held a General Meeting at Fort Garry on the 7th instant at which were present Wm. McTavish, President, and the following Councillors of Assiniboia: Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of St. Boniface, John Bunn, Esq., John Inkster, Esq., Pascal Berland, Esq., Solomon Emlyn, Esq., H. Fisher, Esq., Maximilia Garton, Esq., Robert McBeath, Esq., Thomas Sinclair, Esq., and John E. Harriot, Esq.

Public Accounts

"Mr. Smith, the Clerk of the Council presented the Public Accounts for the year ending 31st May, 1859, showing a balance of £1,350 4s. 7½d. in favour of the Public Funds.

"On the motion of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, seconded by the Bishop of St. Boniface the same was approved and passed. At the above meeting of Council the subject was discussed of bonussing the Red River Steam Milling Company to the extent of £100 and following a like sum subscribed by the settlers of the Red River Settlement. The mover was the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the seconder Mr. Sinclair. The vote was, *ayes*: Bishop of Rupert's Land, Mr. Bunn, Mr. Harriot, Mr. Sinclair, Mr.

McBeath, Mr. Inkster, 6; *Nays*: Bishop of St. Boniface, Mr. Emlyn, Mr. Berland, Mr. Genton, Mr. Fisher. The motion not being unanimous was deferred."

It may be noticed that the Protestants and Catholics voted solidly on opposite sides. In those days the grist mills must have been sectarian.

In the same number is given the results of the season's farming operations by Mr. Gowler, of Headingley, who about this time delivered his lecture, already referred to, in Pacheetoo's house at Portage la Prairie. Without giving the printed article in full its contents may be quickly seen in the following statement:

Outlay

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Seed wheat..... | 63 bushels |
| Seed barley..... | 36 " |
| Seed oats..... | 24 " |
| Seed potatoes..... | 101 " |
| Cost of seed..... | £ 50 |
| Cost of seeding..... | 25 |
| Cost of ingathering..... | 100 |
| Total..... | £175 |

Returns

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| Wheat..... | 700 bushels |
| Barley..... | 350 " |
| Oats..... | 480 " |
| Potatoes..... | 2100 " |
| Market prices, wheat..... | 6s. bushel |
| " " barley..... | 3s. 9d. " |
| " " oats..... | 2s. 6d. " |
| " " potatoes..... | 1s. 3d. " |

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| Total value of returns..... | £466 17s. 6d. |
| Less total outlay..... | 175 0s. 0d. |
| | £291 17s. 6d. |

From the *Nor'-Wester* we learn that the prevailing prices in the settlement at the time were as follows:

Prevailing Prices of Groceries

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Wheat, 4/6 to 5s. | Flour, 112 lbs., 20s. |
| Barley, 3/6 | Oats, 3s. |
| Potatoes, 1/6 | Beef, per lb. 2½ to 3d. |
| Butter, 1s. | Cheese, per lb. 9d. |
| Buffalo meat, fresh, per lb. 2d. | Tobacco, per lb. 2/3 |
| Buffalo meat, dried, per lb. 3d. | Pork, fresh, per lb. 4d. |
| Pemmican, per lb. 4d. | Buffalo tongues, each 1/3 |
| Tea, 3s. | Coffee, 1/4 |
| Loaf sugar, 1/3 | Molasses per gallon 12s. |
| Wine, per gallon £1 4s. | Brandy, per gallon £1 10s. |

In the next number, January 14, 1860, we get the following in connection with Christmas salutation and New Year's Greetings.

"We live in a progressive age, and our nearest neighbours are a progressive people. Compared with both of these we may be set down as slow. Be it so. If slow, we are not the less sure. Ours is not the mere mushroom growth, it is the steady uprising of the giant oak, which is but the more firmly rooted by the tempest and the storm."

In its issue of January 28, 1860, there is the report of a speech in St. John's Parish by Archdeacon Cochrane. It is headed, "A Most Laughter-provoking Speech;" and if Mr. Coldwell, who acted as stenographer, had any sense of humour, he must have had a hard time judging from the numerous times he had to report "(Laughter)". Without encouraging "The Progressive Party" of today to assume that the Archdeacon would have seen eye to eye with it, there is no question about his being a progressive as he understood the word, and in his lecture he scored his hearers—the Red River citizens—for lack of progressiveness. He stated some facts to show the progress that had been made by some other new countries, and asked them to compare with that what had been done in the rather old Red River Settlement; reminding them that their exports were confined almost entirely to the skins of wild animals, and that the previous generation had raised flour for ten shillings for the one hundred and twelve pounds, but that the present generation could not do it for less than twenty shillings.

In the January 28th number there is given a short account of seven united religious services held in the seven churches of the Red River Settlement, beginning with Headingly and ending with St. Peter's. The following ministers are mentioned as having taken part, viz: Reverend Archdeacon Hunter, G. O. Corbet, W. H. Taylor, John Chapman, John Black (Presbyterian), A. Cowley and Robert McDonald. The service at St. Andrew's was held on a Friday morning, and between eight hundred and one thousand people were present.

Later there is mentioned the first confirmation held in St. Mary's Church, Portage la Prairie, the date being March 3, 1861, when twenty-six children of settlers were confirmed and seven Indians.

In the issue of January 14, 1860, when the *Nor'-Wester* had been a year in existence, Mr. James Ross, a son of the historian, joined its staff, and this unquestionably was an acquisition, for Mr. Ross was himself a *Nor'-Wester* and a well-educated one, having captured a scholarship in St. John's Collegiate School and taken high honours in the University of Toronto. From the first the little news organ of the day showed a praiseworthy interest in the work being accomplished in the various schools, and, of course, if one of the schools thought it had been misrepresented, it had its chance to have the public properly informed in the next fortnightly issue of the paper.

What perhaps more than anything else gave an impetus to this interest in education was a letter from the pen of Mr. Ross himself which appeared in the same number in which it was announced that he was on the editorial staff. In that letter he stated that between the years 1850-1860 there had been a decadence in education which he attributed to the teachers not being as efficient as their predecessors of the previous thirty years. It was to be expected that a statement of that sort, whether in the abstract true or not true, was of the kind that was bound to start something, and *this* did, because it was bound to focus public attention upon those who both by position and profession had the oversight of education, and in this respect no one was hit harder than Bishop Anderson, the leader in educational work during the ten-year period mentioned by Mr. Ross as decadent.

Now his Lordship, though a humble and peace-loving man, had just cause for honest pride in the work being accomplished in an educational institution over which he presided, and to which he had given the name of St. John's Collegiate School. He saw fit, therefore to inform the public through the columns of the *Nor'-Wester*, of what was being done in this institution which was prepared to be judged by its methods and its results. And having thus shown that there was no cause for a decadence in education, I suppose he fondly hoped that that would end the matter, and that there would be no more unpleasant comparisons; but that was not to be.

Three months after Mr. Ross' remarks about the decadence of education in the settlement there appeared a letter in the *Nor'-Wester* under date of April 14th over the signature of Mr. Francis Bruneau, in which, no doubt, there was faithfully reflected the sentiments which prevailed at the Roman Catholic seat of learning situated in the vicinity of the famous building with the turrets twain. Mr. Bruneau, however, manfully spoke for himself, and gave the public to understand that high-class educational work was not confined to the west bank of the Red River; but that an equally important work of that kind was going on at St. Boniface under the patronage of the Roman Catholic Church under the direction of Bishop Tache. He wrote, putting within quotation marks the words—"The quarter referred to," because Bishop Anderson had used those words in referring to the school at St. Boniface. Mr. Bruneau wrote in part as follows: "I am myself one of the pupils trained in 'the quarter referred to.' As early as the year 1824 I was there studying Latin, History, etc., etc., along with other school-fellows. A collegiate school had been opened the year before." Mr. Bruneau then goes on to say that one of his own sons and many others had reaped the fruits of Bishop Provencher's educational efforts.

This letter attracted the attention of Mr. Henry Cook, who from the nature of his business probably knew every man and woman, both English and French in the entire population of the Settlement; and he, knowing also that Bishop Anderson might safely be regarded as having retired from the conflict after the first bout, took up his pen probably with two objects, nay three,

first to prevent Mr. Bruneau from having the last word; second, to let his numerous friends know that he was still interested in anything that was for their good; and third to provide the public with some free entertainment.

Mr. Cook began by stating what he had noticed in the Settlement and during his rambles since 1844, a period during which he had travelled with both English and French Half-breeds over the plains on the buffalo hunt, and for nine years in his boats to and from York Factory, and after that with the carts to and from St. Paul, that when on a buffalo hunt he had often known of a French Half-breed running round among the carts, sometimes as many as one thousand of them, to find an English Half-breed who would oblige him by writing a letter. "At St. Paul," he went on, "I often had to make purchases for the French Half-breeds, and negotiate bills of exchange; but never for a Protestant. My business has often taken me up the Red and Assiniboine Rivers; but I have never met any of Mr. Bruneau's Latin scholars trained in 'the quarter referred to,' and I would ask, where are they to be found?" And he finished off with the extinguisher, "I never knew of any of our folks having to apply to any of the Latin scholars to have their indents written; but 'the Latin scholars' with 'high education' taught in 'the quarter referred to' have commonly enough applied to us for that purpose."

December 17, 1860, the Westbourne Church is mentioned as having been opened for service on Sunday, December 2nd.

June, Saturday 15, 1861: In this number it is mentioned that the Portage Laloche boats had left, that the York Factory boats had left June 14th, and that the Hudson's Bay Company caravan of seventy carts, going to the Saskatchewan, was leaving that day, June 15.

August 1st, 1861: Buffalo hunters came up with the animals two and a half days from Pembina—at the little Souris 900 buffalo were slaughtered at the first race, second day afterwards as many more. Buffalo nearly always in sight—Twelve runs in all made. The caravans which went in the direction of Fort Ellice reported as doing equally well. In this issue the coming

departure of the Royal Canadian Rifles is mentioned, and that much regret was being generally expressed because of their very pleasing behaviour during the entire period of their stay.



BANNOCKS IN THE MAKING

August 15, 1861: In an article in this number the High Bluff Church, St. Margaret's, is referred to as "the new Church," having evidently been completed about December, 1860.

August 31, 1861: In this issue are quotations from an article on the "Battle of Bull's Run." "Our loss reported at Washington at 3,000. . . Excited the deepest melancholy throughout Washington. The carnage is reported as tremendously heavy on both sides, and ours is represented as frightful. . . In many instances the teamsters unhitched their horses and abandoned the wagons when there was not 'the slightest necessity'."

In this issue there is also mention of "trouble in the Council of Portage la Prairie." The editor refers to the Portage as "a new and rising little settlement," and quotes from the Portage

correspondent as "furnishing an insight into local politics of an amusing species. There has been friction in the governmental machinery and a slight explosion as the result."

From time to time the *Nor'-Wester* printed a list of the places where subscribers were to call to get their papers. The following is the list as printed on July 15, 1861:

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Headingley School-house | Macduff House (Res. of Mr. Jas. Ross) |
| Mr. Henry Cook's | Kildonan School-house |
| St. James' School-house | St. Paul's School-house |
| Mr. Neil Henderson's | Park's Creek School-house |
| Upper Fort Garry Store | Mr. John Tait's |
| Mr. Thomas Sinclair's | Lower Fort Garry |
| Mr. Donald Gunn's | |

In those days when means of communication were so casual "a chance of letting one's friends know" was not to be lost; and I suppose it was for that reason that when a birth in some family was announced through the press, there was not unfrequently added the kindly touch—"the mother, doing as well as can be expected under the circumstances;" but, of course there were many instances where the kindly touch would have been ridiculous; for instance, on May 6th, 1861, a son was born at Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River to Rev. and Mrs. Kirkby, and that item of news did pretty well to get inserted in the *Nor'-Wester* as early as September 14th.

The year 1861 must have been a wonderful year for the buffalo hunters, for on November 1st it is recorded in the *Nor'-Wester* that the hunters had come in from their third hunt of the season, well loaded with "green meat," (fresh meat) after having been only three weeks absent.

In the same number in mentioning the forces pitted against each other in the civil war it was mentioned in this original style. "It is stated that the number of Americans trying to kill each other is about 400,000, or about 200,000 on each side."

At an examination held in St. John's Parish School-house in the beginning of 1862, Mr. Thomas Norquay, a brother of Hon. John Norquay, and the man who took the mandate of the

English-speaking volunteers to Riel in 1870, was mentioned as teacher; and it was also stated that Bishop Anderson had examined four boys in French.

April 16, 1862: A letter has been received from Mr. John Garrioch, the Portage correspondent, in which it was stated that Pacheetoo was regarded as trying to have Pahwahkikun deposed from the chieftainship, so that the Portage might resume its pre-settlement status. Another item of Indian news was still less encouraging. J. M. House had sent out two men to Lake Manitoba to buy furs from the Indians, supplying them with whisky for that purpose, the result of which was a drunken brawl among the Indians in which, to use the words of the correspondent, "Kanaswa's son with his dog teeth bit off old Weesikun's nose." The correspondent also stated in the same letter that the Portage Council had met and given these matters consideration. Unfortunately the records of the Portage Council have been lost, so that the writer cannot say what steps, if any, were taken with a view of improving the situation; but it is just possible that there was some connection between the discussion which took place round the Council table and the insertion of a letter in the *Nor'-Wester* by Mr. J. Garrioch. At any rate, very soon after, some gentleman visited Portage la Prairie, whether on his own account or in a representative capacity he did not say; but he also wrote a letter to the *Nor'-Wester*. He signed himself G. F., and gave an interesting account of his visit to Pacheetoo, who evidently quite convinced him that he was a badly misunderstood man simply because other people about could not understand what was for their own good. Mr. G. F. believed in Mr. Pacheetoo, and did not agree with those who had represented him as being a menace to the safety of the settlement. Be that as it may, this Indian was certainly a remarkable man; and when he fastened his single eye on G. F., if G. F. himself was shrewd he would know that he was speaking to a shrewd man, and when that man, though an Indian, placed a spittoon before him as he sat down to light his pipe, he might well give him credit for being up-to-date; and he wound up his account of the interview by saying that "next to Archdeacon Cochrane and John Garrioch he was the best off citizen in Portage la Prairie."

May 28th, 1862: This item appears respecting Recorder John Black and Dr. Cowan, the latter of whom had been medical officer for the "Pensioners." "We are happy to learn that these gentlemen are once more to be residents of this settlement. Dr. Cowan's services are remembered with gratitude by many a family circle, and he will be all the more welcome now that we have not the services of Mr. John Bunn." Mr. Bunn, who was a "beloved physician" had recently died of apoplexy.

June 25, 1862: The building of St. Ann's Church, Poplar Point, opened for service this year, is referred to. "The settlers are busy erecting a church under the direction of Mr. Thomas Cochrane who has for a long time ministered to them in such accommodation as they could provide. The church, which is fifty feet by twenty-five, may be regarded as an outgrowth of the work of the Ven. Archdeacon Cochrane, whose name is associated with half the churches in the settlement, and who will be long remembered for lengthening the cords and strengthening the stakes of the church in this land. And the son is but treading in the footsteps of his father."

August 6, 1862: In this issue was an article entitled, "A New Era in Farming;" and therein the *Nor'-Wester* acknowledged a visit from John McLean of Portage la Prairie, the first from Canada to settle there. Mr. McLean, among other things, informed the staff of the paper that he was from Guelph, Ontario, and that he was "going to teach the natives something." He did.

January 24, 1863: "*The Company's Hostility to the Press.*"

The writer's eldest brother and another young man were apprenticed as compositors to the *Nor'-Wester*, and at first sight of the above title when going over the files of the paper it occurred to me that one of these young fellows must have been instructed to write something funny about the Hudson's Bay Company; but I very soon saw that this was a case in which "iron having entered the soul" of an experienced writer, it had to flow out from his pen in scorching irony. First of all there was given a letter from Gov. Wm. McTavish informing the editor that certain officers who are named (Mr. McTavish himself included) are not to have their copies of the paper sent to him for transmission to the said

officers because he has had no intimation that they wish their subscriptions renewed. The paper's comment on the Governour's letter is to the effect that the Company had never enthused over the introduction into this country of a newspaper—that it had not entered upon open hostility, but simply ignored it, even going to St. Paul, Minnesota to have some receipts printed. "Mr. McTavish says five of the seven copies sent to the Company are to cease. We beg to say the Company never took seven copies, and if seven are charged in their books, somebody else must have pocketed the money; we certainly did not get it; we furnished just five copies, not more nor less. Mr. McTavish after making the mistake (which by the way, is very creditable to his business habits), becomes very kind and condescending. He says the Company will continue to take two copies, which are both to be sent to Fort Garry! How kind and compassionate! Two copies! Thank you Mr. McTavish, for your extreme kindness and your very liberal patronage; but the good people of the Red River have come forward so handsomely to support us this year that we can dispense with your *two* copies, your kindness, your patronage and all. You will continue to take, you say; but unfortunately we will not continue to send. The fact is we do not like to take twenty shillings from the Company. They have lately ceased paying money for produce, to the great hardship and provocation of the settlers; and lest this should arise from a shortness of funds we have not the heart to take a whole pound from them in case they grind poor farmers harder. We leave the twenty shillings with them with the earnest request that they will give it to some settler who has grain or beef to dispose of. And now as Mr. McTavish has been so kind and considerate, we beg to offer him something in return. If he will send down to the *Nor'-Wester* office for them, we will cheerfully give him two copies free of charge any time we print off."

The foregoing shows how the *Nor'-Wester* stood with the State, and the following which appears in the same number shows how it stood with the Roman Catholic Church.

Bishop Tache had sent the editor a long letter in which "he complained that the paper was too Protestant, too anti-Company and too extreme in its tone." The following was the public reply:

"We are sorry we cannot please the Bishop's taste. Although Protestant ourselves, and all our subscribers (except a half dozen) are Protestant too. And the Bishop must see that our principles and our pecuniary interests too, both require us to give the *Nor'-Wester* a Protestant tone; still we have always been careful in admitting anything which went directly to show the evils of popery. If the *Nor'-Wester* has become Protestant it is so little as to be scarcely perceptible. . . . Whether the letter was penned with a view to effect at headquarters and a reference to pecuniary interests we leave it to others to determine.

"But we say no more, merely from our profound respect for the worthy prelate; and partly because his views on the *Nor'-Wester* will have no weight with our subscribers."

The selections of poetry given in the *Nor'-Wester* were usually very good; and in going over its files this year (1931) I came across a piece entitled "Love," which had become an old friend as I had seen it in the *Nor'-Wester* seventy years before (1862) and I suppose thinking it nice to be loved by a person assumedly so beautiful in looks as in sentiment, I then and there committed it to memory. On seeing the piece again after seventy years I was surprised to find that the second verse had slipped my memory. The following is the poem:

We have no riches, our daily labour
Was all the wealth we could hope to win;
But we built in our hearts a royal palace,
For love's own angels to enter in.

Our lowly future we fondly painted
With tender dreamings of household joys—
Sweet thoughts that thrill in a woman's bosom,
And a true heart's service without alloy.

Three days of leisure we roamed together,
One golden summer by rock and wave;
But when the leaves fell with reddening rustle
The churchyard grass lay above his grave.

And I who had thought to rest securely
On the brave young heart that was all my own,
Had to bury my grief and go forth unshielded
To toil in the weary world alone.

But he never saw me worn and faded,
My brown hair silvered, my eyes grown dim;
To the last he saw me through love's own splendour,
And he took that image to Heaven with him.

So I fondly think when my task is ended,
And the longed for rest shall my brow enfold,
He will meet me first on the hills of Eden,
And I shall be fair as in the days of old.

(Signed) F. L. H.

Another of the *Nor'-Wester's* selections is a poem entitled "Far Away," by an anonymous writer. It has already been honoured with a place in three histories, viz: that of Mr. J. Hargrave, Mr. R. B. Hill and my first history, "First Furrows." And now I insert it again:

Upon the shore of evermore,
We sport like children at their play,
And gather shells where sinks and swells,
The mighty sea from far away.

Upon that beach no voice nor speech
Doth things intelligible say;
But through our souls a whisper rolls
That comes to us from far away.

Into our ears the voice of years
Comes deeper, deeper, day by day;
We stoop to hear, as it draws near,
In awfulness from far away.

At what it tells, we drop the shells,
We were full of yesterday,
And pick no more upon the shore
But dream of brighter far away.

And o'er that tide, far out and wide,
The yearnings of our souls do stray;
We long to go, we do not know
Where it may be, but far away.

The mighty deep doth slowly creep
Upon the shore where we did play;
The very sand where we did stand
A moment since, swept far away.

Our playmates all beyond our call,
Are passing hence as we, too, may,
Beyond that shore of evermore,
Beyond the boundless far away.

We'll trust the wave and Him to save;
Beneath whose feet as marble lay
The rolling deep, for He can keep
Our souls in that dim far away.

It appears from the *Nor'-Wester* that in 1863, the Canadian thistle was already becoming a public nuisance.

In the same year there was an item in the *Nor'-Wester* stating that a Mr. Hackland was freighting goods from Abercrombie for the Hudson's Bay Company, using 190 carts, and that in some of these carts an ox drew as much as 1200 pounds.

If, to anyone, the foregoing mixture of extracts leaves something to be desired, perhaps this last one will supply that something. In the April 17, 1865, number of the *Nor'-Wester*, a writer states that in 1863 "Bishop Tache when passing through St. Paul did not shrink from the troublesome task of bringing a bee-hive

through. He purchased one, and placing it in his buggy brought it all the way to Red River. The Bishop was encouraged in this venture because he knew he could rely upon the obedience of his clergy to accept the care of the 'interesting insects.' The writer then goes on to describe the experiences of the Rev. Pere who accepted the responsibility of looking after "the interesting insects." He also states that to the best of his knowledge these were the first bees brought to this country, and that it would appear that the courageous pioneers in this sweet business, far from getting stung enjoyed some return for their enterprise. And he adds, "Give honour to whom honour is due," and I suppose the most of us would cheerfully say, "It's all right with me."



CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1862-1865

The Council of Portage la Prairie

THE settlers from Red River who moved up to Portage la Prairie had learned before making the move those lessons which long before mankind had learned, viz: that it cannot get along without law; and that, even with law, it cannot get along unless it has also the power of enforcing it; and although from 1851, when the first two settlers located at Portage, up to 1857 when the Archdeacon himself moved up, at which date there were about twenty families, the growing community seemed to get along all right without any more law than the golden rule and the ten commandments; but by the time the Archdeacon arrived, a stage had been reached where very obviously there would have to be more law or very soon there was bound to be trouble. What made this so imminent was the peculiar shape of the settlement which has already been described, a shape which was almost ideal for promoting the social side of life or for cultivating the grand idea of the common brotherhood of man; but nevertheless containing a serious menace to that idea, whenever, as was bound to happen, some of them went in seriously for the cultivation of the soil.

The squatter's rule which had been largely applied in the Red River Settlement with the aid of a surveyor, was much more difficult to apply in Portage la Prairie where every man had to do his own surveying. As far as the settlers were able they tried to carry out the rule observed in the older settlement. They took the river or its equivalent as their base, and choosing reasonable

frontage, ran their own lines therefrom in the direction of the polar star. This was workable in the western part of the Portage Settlement. But there was trouble in store for the settlers at the east end because here twelve or more families had to locate on the two sides of a right angle. The church land on which was St. Mary's Church, the parsonage and the school-house, occupied the apex of this angle, in which the bush known as Cochrane's point was also included. On the remainder of that side of the right angle which ran nearly due north were five or six lots; and these had Garrioch's Creek for their base, and their lines being at right angles to it, ran almost due east. The other side of the right angle ran eastward from the church property, and formed the base for as many more lots as were on the other, and the settlers located on these followed the regular rule of running their lines in the direction of the polar star. The consequence, of course, was, that at a very short distance from their starting point the lines intersected. And as Garrioch's Creek was the base line of my father's lot, and he was an ambitious farmer for those days, he was the first to realize that he was up against a problem which defied mathematics.

It happened thus. After having farmed all his land right up to the River Road, he decided on an outer field to begin from the said River Road and to extend as far eastward as the first intersecting line of those lots which had their base line or frontage on the other side of the right angle. The said intersecting line which was to bound father's outer field on the east, tentatively at any rate, was easily ascertained by looking along Archdeacon Cochrane's snake fence which marked the eastern limit of the church land.

On a nice bright afternoon when there were not too many bulldogs or mosquitoes around, a sturdy yoke of oxen were hitched to our country-made breaking plough; and my father, my brother and I went along with these following the regular road by which we could reach the nearest corner of the proposed outer field, which, naturally became the point of attack; but not, I would suppose, as a matter of strategy, although this was the point not only nearest our house but nearest the parsonage as well. At this time, the church land lying east of the River road and

that which from now onward was to become my father's outer field, adjoined, except that a thoroughfare passed between of which Rowe Street of today is a vestige, the eastern part having been closed by the unneighbourly and unwarrantable action of a settler whose base was the eastern side of the right angle.

After carefully measuring off the legal width of a thoroughfare, father started to plough, my brother and I encouraging the bovines to keep on moving in a straight line. After being thus engaged for some time as we were returning to our starting point we saw the Archdeacon approaching us from the direction of the parsonage. Father awaited his coming, as far as I know to this day, perfectly innocent of any knowledge of the object of his coming.

Instead of his usual greeting the Archdeacon began: "Why John, I was going to plough that piece of land." My father's answer was something to the effect that he was so cornered in that it was about the only piece of land left for him to plow. The conversation did not last long, and although both were evidently annoyed and displeased, their voices were not unduly raised, and the tone employed was that of two persons holding themselves in check from self and mutual respect. When the Archdeacon retired, one thing was evident—he realized that he had arrived upon the scene a little too late. My father knew it too; but the only remark I ever heard him make in connection with this trouble was the one he made then—"The Archdeacon was greedy that time." Who was in the wrong? Was either? I leave it to others to say; but for my part I consider it a case of "first come first served," and fortunately for father he was *first come*. He beat the Archdeacon at farming in that instance at any rate, and a little later when he had cooled off, I fancy the Archdeacon laughing as he soliloquized: "Well, I wanted to get these fellows to go ahead and farm, and I guess I have succeeded." As to any ill feeling remaining over what had happened, there was nothing of the sort: they had obeyed the injunction, "be ye angry and sin not," and they did not "let the sun go down upon their wrath." After this regrettable occurrence, just as much if not more than before, these two encouraged one another in their respective

undertakings for the public weal and in the service of their common Master.

Although the Council of Assiniboia was in existence when this misunderstanding occurred, it was, of course, unthinkable that it should be called upon to act in any case in which the actions of the spiritual leader of practically the entire community would be subjected to public investigation. And, at any rate, he who in this affair might have considered himself the aggrieved party, did not ask for the interference of any council, and the other party was not likely to do so.

When the Archdeacon approved of the formation of a Council, it would no doubt be the good of the community that he would have in view, and not his own. And to say that the Council did no good would be incorrect. Had the minutes not been lost the writer has no doubt he would have been able to give some very pleasing instances of its having functioned in the best interests of the community; but being at the time too young to attend its meetings, or to take much interest in what it might be doing quietly in the interests of peace and happiness, I am in consequence a more competent chronicler of its failures than its successes, for I was not too young to notice how the sparks flew when iron had struck rock in the Council chamber.

The Council of Portage la Prairie was a reproduction of the Council of Assiniboia on a smaller scale, and copied as did the latter British methods of Government, judiciary and all, as far as circumstances would permit. My father being among the more ambitious of the councilors, when not engaged in his agricultural and mechanical undertakings, devoted a portion of his spare time to the study of law; so that I learned from him that there was an authority on that subject by the name of Blackstone, possibly he was the one who helped to make the sparks fly. The Portage Council was composed of six councilors, a president, a secretary, a magistrate and two constables, and there was little distinction between its legislative and judicial departments.

There was one particularly good feature of the Council of Portage la Prairie—its members received neither salary nor fee for their services, and giving them credit for being honestly intent

upon promoting peace in the community, they were not likely to encourage their fellow citizens to air their grievances in court. Nevertheless when said citizens took a chance and did so, or the Council itself on becoming cognizant of the breach of one of its regulations, also took a chance by laying down the law to the transgressor, *ex cathedra*, as it were, then was it only too liable to furnish the citizens with an exhibition of its helplessness to carry out the purpose of its existence, conferred upon it by the public mandate—that of promoting the welfare of the community by moral force when possible or by physical force if necessary.

Although the by-laws of the Council of Portage la Prairie are gone, the writer feels perfectly competent to reproduce one or two of them in the same way that a palaeontologist reproduces the form of some extinct bird with nothing more than a few of its bones to work upon. Thus from sundry bones of contention which had a fascination to my youthful imagination, I am able to reproduce the following by-law. It was most likely worded better; but here it is in substance:

Be it enacted that no thoroughfare known to have been in use within what is now the district of Portage la Prairie, previous to the commencement of this settlement at Portage la Prairie on or about the year 1854, or opened since the aforesaid year 1854, by the settlers or a number of the settlers for their mutual benefit, shall be closed unless the settlers using it unanimously agree to its being closed, and for that purpose secure the consent of the Council. Obviously such a by-law would be advisable in any self-governing community whatever its form of settlement might be, and in the case of the Portage with its peculiar physical features it became an absolute necessity if peace was to be preserved. There were in particular two roads which needed to be thus safeguarded in the interests of these settlers at the east end, who had disadvantage enough in their rectangular base-line without having the roads closed which were at least in part a consequence of this disadvantage. One of these roads was the one which skirts Crescent Lake from the site of the Old Fort to the beaver dam across Garrioch's Creek, and extends southward through the bush, crossing the Assiniboine at the same point where now is the municipal traffic bridge. This path as far as the beaver dam at

least should have been regarded as venerable with age as it must have been trodden by the feet of Indians for hundreds of years, and the other road was the one following the south line of my father's farm and is identical with Rowe Street of today. Westward it connected with the bridle path which Archdeacon Cochrane straightened and widened into a cart road, and it extended eastward to the Red River Settlement, and was a great convenience to us eastenders; as it was the road we used in hauling our hay from the meadows, at the time locally referred to as "the bay." When a selfish neighbour closed this road we ceased getting our hay from the bay, as the alternative road was via Pacheetoo's, now Broadway, which would have increased the distance over a mile. If I am asked, what about the bye-law regarding thoroughfares, I answer sadly, "It was no good," proof of which had already been furnished in the breaking of it in connection with the other thoroughfare already mentioned. That even more useful road was the first to be closed; and it afforded the Council an admirable opportunity of trying out its ability at compelling the observance of its bye-laws.

The man who closed this road was an old gentleman by the name of Jimuk Whitford. He was the father of many sons, all of whom excepting one were married. All the Whitfords on the list of parishioners were sons of his or of his brother Peter. Jimuk and his sons were mighty hunters, and respectable and peace-loving enough, and while they would go to any amount of trouble to out-wit a fox or run it to earth, in any farming they undertook they invariably gave precedence to the easy way. And that was how the thoroughfare at the time known as "the front road," came to be closed. In the map now used for conveyancing, Jimuk's farm is parish lot 90, and it will be seen that it fronts on Crescent Lake, and in Jimuk's time as now, there was an unobstructed thoroughfare skirting Crescent Lake from the old Indian camping ground at the west end to the south line of parish lot 90, at which point this road leaves Crescent Lake striking southward for the traffic bridge over the Assiniboine. And instead of leaving this road unobstructed as they had found it and thereby observing the golden rule and the Council bye-law, they evidently consulted a lazy bone with which they happened to be afflicted;

and so they ran their snake fences right into Crescent Lake, thereby making it necessary for those who used this part of Crescent Road to go round their farm by way of River Road.

As soon as the Council became aware of this indictable offence committed, the offenders were unofficially informed that the obstructions which they had placed across this public road would have to be at once removed. This not being done, they were informed officially in something after this fashion: "You are hereby informed that in closing the public road which passes along the west of your farm you have infringed upon the rights of the public, and rendered yourself liable to a fine for an infraction of regulation No. —. You are therefore hereby ordered to remove your fences which obstruct the said public road without any further delay." Such a notice was sent, but was treated with as scant courtesy as its unofficial predecessor. So as soon as it was evident that the "Order in Council" was not going to produce the desired effect, twenty men marched up the road and threw down the fences. But, alas! for the good government of Portage la Prairie! It was not long until they were put back just as they stood before.

At this time the Council had been in existence for about four years, and although its members believed that it had served a good purpose, they now decided that as a matter of prudence, and of regard for their self-respect, it would be as well to leave matters *in status quo*, so during the years 1861-62, it regarded itself as put out of business and was willing to remain so.

However, by 1863 the personnel of the Settlement had undergone some change, and events were happening which called for the presence of law in the Settlement more imperatively than before. A party of Sioux in that year billeted themselves upon the Settlement. Some of the original settlers had moved to High Bluff, and some had moved west and were replaced by two families from Eastern Canada. There had also arrived two American traders who sold whisky and were the opposite of helpful in the maintenance of peace and safety.

By this time it was generally realized by the people living in Portage, that if they wished to live anywhere at all, they would

have to secure a government by some means or other; and two courses which seemed to offer the best chance of this were, either to resuscitate their own defunct Council, or else petition the Council of Assiniboia to extend its operations a little further westward, which might reasonably have been expected, as it by this time had within its radius, the additional parishes of Poplar Point, High Bluff and Westbourne. But unfortunately the said Council was having troubles enough of its own at headquarters, so much so, that it might have been regarded as in the throes of dissolution. Under these circumstances there was no alternative but to resuscitate the Council of Portage la Prairie, and so foster a citizenship which would encourage a man to do right by his neighbours, and to put where it belongs the thought that one may acceptably be "a law unto himself."

The manner in which the Council of Portage la Prairie was revived is described in an issue of the *Nor'-Wester* of December, 1863. Accompanying this particular number was a full-size extra sheet which was signed by John McLean, Kenneth McBean and his son Robert. And from this extra it is clear that, whatever Mr. McLean may have accomplished in the way of introducing "a new era of farming," he was certainly trying "to teach the natives something, which some of them at any rate did not at all appreciate. In the extra referred to John McLean wrote that the members of the Portage la Prairie Council were nominated by Rev. Thomas Cochrane and elected by the public without one contrary vote, and all in the presence of good old Venerable Archdeacon Cochrane. The chairman, Mr. F. A. Bird, was sworn in by Rev. Thomas Cochrane, as also Mr. J. J. Setter, the Clerk of the court."

The writer is not aware that John McLean had an axe to grind in giving this article the benefit of his signature; but as he was the most scholarly of the two Canadian families, the adults of which were as much at home in Gaelic as in English, he would naturally be disposed to exert himself in the interests of the McBeans who, it would appear from the article, were defendants in a dispute or law-suit in which the land of Jimuk was again the bone of contention. And Mr. McLean's object in describing how the local Council had been elected was no doubt to show the

public that it was a legally constituted body, and that therefore any citizen who in word or deed opposed its decisions, would be acting unlawfully. And here let it be remarked that three of the citizens who comprised the reconstructed Council of Portage la Prairie were or had been school-teachers in Portage la Prairie and that in the decision which was given by the Council which favoured the defendant, Kenneth McBean, these three school-teachers took the opposite side, that of the plaintiff, who was the widow of Mr. Jimuk Whitford. It would appear therefore, that it sometimes takes more than education to enable one to take his stand on the right or lawful side of a question.

The circumstances under which the land of James Whitford, Sr., otherwise named Jimuk, became a subject of litigation were as follows: Andrew, oldest unmarried son of Jimuk (at time of dispute deceased), claiming that he was acting for the estate, sold lot 90, which his father had owned, to Kenneth McBean; but an interested party who claimed to be acting for Jimuk's widow, asserted that she inherited his estate and that if Andrew had acted as alleged he had done so without her permission, and that in consequence the land still belonged to Mrs. Whitford. The party who thus championed the cause of the widow was the same who closed the eastern thoroughfare, an act which explains why the said thoroughfare now known as Rowe Street ends where it does instead of continuing as it originally did until it was united with the Saskatchewan thoroughfare. Though unable to state with confidence all the details of this transaction it is clear from the McLean-McBean letter to the Nor'-Wester that the McBeans and their supporter McLean were perfectly willing to stand by the arbitrament of the Council of Portage la Prairie in settlement of the dispute between McLean and David Cusitar representing Mrs. Whitford, who was his mother-in-law.

My father and my uncle, Peter Garrioch, took opposite sides, and John McLean who was a reader of "Sam Slick" and kindred works, found in this situation an opportunity of furnishing the public with some comic literature, gratis, by means of the Nor'-Wester.

The McLean-McBean effusion finished off thus: "In conclusion we would beg to say that Mr. John Garrioch is one of the largest

farmers at la Prairie, and so in every respect one of the wealthiest, and Mr. Peter Garrioch, sorry to say, one of the contrary, and we have this confidence in Mr. John Garrioch's abilities with regard to the present dispute already referred to that if Mr. Garrioch will come to a fair and open trial with Mr. John Garrioch he will find to his satisfaction to have bridled the wrong ass, and not his brother John."

In the early days of Portage la Prairie the proper way of giving notice of a meeting was to post up a notice on the church door a certain number of days in advance; and notwithstanding the lack of unanimity in the Council it was hoped that a representative attendance might be secured in this manner, which would eventuate in a settlement of the trouble. Accordingly the necessary notice was duly posted on the church door, and on the evening of the day on which the meeting was to be held, I, being then fifteen years of age, was among those who were present; and I can distinctly remember being hopeful of two things—a right settlement, and a lively time; but I was doomed to disappointment, for the absentees were in the majority. However, I witnessed one thing which appealed to me. Henry Cook was a visitor to Portage that winter, and had accompanied the president and John McLean to the school-house, we being the first arrivals. While I was helping to fill up the chimney with oak logs McLean was telling what he was prepared to do to the counsel of the widow, whereupon Henry Cook faced him and playfully catching him by his upper arms forced him rapidly backwards at least twenty feet until he had him pinned solidly against the wall, and holding him there helpless for a little while he released his hold, and they both laughed.

No business was transacted that evening; and although the Council continued to function after a fashion, it was chiefly under stress occasioned by the interloping Sioux and the necessity of taking some form of action against the unrestricted flow of whisky, and to counteract its evil consequences as far as that might be possible.

What happened in Portage is all the time happening somewhere—conflict ceases, and the cause thereof is shelved, not because of



PAROCHIAL SCHOOL AT ST. JOHN'S AS IT APPEARED BEFORE
BEING FINALLY DEMOLISHED



WESTBOURNE MISSION STATION

any change of heart, but because there is the menace of a common danger, which most people have the sense to know is the more likely to be faced successfully if faced unitedly. Therefore, allowing that the Council had not fulfilled the fond hopes of its promoters now that it might pose as the enemy of evil spirits it appeared in a more pleasing light, and the community was willing to try it again. Well they might when they reflected on what the Sioux had done to them even when sober, and what the Saulteaux had done or might have done when drunk.

An old buffalo hunter, Thomas Anderson, Sr., our next door neighbour, born and raised at Brandon, could tell of horse stealing raids by the Sioux against the buffalo-hunting Waseejew (Sioux name for an English half-caste). His own wife had been scalped when a girl, to what extent I cannot say, as she always had her head covered, skull-cap fashion, tied about with a navy blue handkerchief. Then as to the danger from the Bungees when drunk, just think of what happened to poor Weesikun. And think of this: Macheehkiwis, *the evil one*, once came staggering into our house, and threatening to slay my mother, held an axe over her head for what seemed a dreadful length of time; and where that axe would have descended, God only knows, had it not been wrenched from his hands by Robert Inkster who happened to be carpentering in the kitchen at the time.

The Sioux claimed that of old they had been loyal to Great Britain, and that they had given proof of this at the time of the Anglo-American war. By way of substantiating these claims they were able to show flags and medals of the reign of George the Third. Naturally it appeared to us that the good-feeling must have been rather one-sided judging from the rough handling some of our friends had met with since then. Perhaps it was this knowledge of the Sioux disposition and record, which induced several Red River citizens to do what at the time was severely condemned by others as extremely un-British. Little Six, Chief of the fugitive Sioux, and Medicine Bottle, another Indian who had been prominent in the Minnesota massacres—they drugged, kidnapped and turned over to Major Hatch, who at the time was in charge of the American troops at Pembina. Another transaction there was, which smacked more favourably of

civilization and British honour, and that was a grant of £350 from the Council of Assiniboia, to be expended in feeding these famished creatures, whose numbers it is said had been reduced by thirty as one and then another had perished on the way from cold and hunger. From J. Hargrave and the Nor'-Wester we learn that twelve families of Sioux reached Red River on the 20th November, 1862, and on 11th December sixty lodges more, in all, five hundred souls. "They said," states Mr. Hargrave, "that they came to die with the settlers rather than die in the snow-drifts of the prairies."

These were the Indians who under the leadership of the Chief Little Crow had perpetrated the awful massacres in Minnesota. And when we heard the White man's account of the atrocities committed there, we certainly had no reason to feel when feeding these wards of the American Government that we "might be entertaining angels unawares." But if they had become angels of the wrong colour, who was to blame for that? Let a man of God give the answer. I quote in full page 105 from "Light and Shadows of a Long Episcopate," by Bishop Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota. These are the words of Bishop Whipple:

"August 18, 1862, the Sioux began a massacre which desolated the entire west of Minnesota. Eight hundred people were murdered. Many of these victims of savage vengeance, had given me true-hearted hospitality, and my heart was filled with sorrow. I had feared an outbreak. Again and again I had said publicly, that as certain as any fact of human history, a nation which sowed robbery would reap a harvest of blood. Thomas Jefferson said, 'I tremble for the nation when I remember that God is just.' In subsequent pages the causes of these Indian wars will be found.

"The Sioux are a war-like people; they had been our friends. General Sibley, who was chief factor thirty years for the North West Fur Company, said, 'It was the boast of the Sioux that they had never taken the life of a White man. In the earlier days of my residence among them I never locked the door of my trading post, and when I rose in the morning I often found Indians camped on the floor. The only thing which I have ever had stolen was a curious pipe, which was returned by the mischievous boy

who took it after I had told the Indians that if the pipe were not returned, I should keep the door locked.' The Honourable H. M. Rice, who was chief factor among the Chippewas, has told me substantially the same thing."

Speaking on this matter in passing, the writer would remark that when enlightened nations came to the American continent with intent to establish themselves in the lands which belonged to the natives by right of long occupancy, it was solemnly incumbent upon them to bear in mind that they lived under the Christian and not the Mosaic dispensation, and that it was their duty to see to it when becoming seized of the lands of the aborigines that this was done by lawful contract and not usurpation, making it clear to the party of the second part—the natives—that in return for the home-lands which they were relinquishing they were conferring upon them with their consent and co-operation what was of far greater value: all this being impressed upon them in a paternal and benevolent spirit, until they could tell from experience that they were not being deceived.

Just to the extent that an enlightened nation transgressed the foregoing principle in acquiring land on this continent it got itself into trouble and entailed trouble upon succeeding generations. Owing to the youthfulness of the writer in the winter of 1862-63, he did not feel this; but now, I would suppose that the adults of that time in Red River Settlement and Portage la Prairie, were sufficiently conscious of unfair treatment of the Indians in by-gone days, and felt that there was enough coming to them on account of their own shortcomings in this matter, without their being called upon to suffer for the unjust policy of their enlightened neighbours, by having unceremoniously dumped upon them five hundred Sioux in a semi-nude and starved condition. And as far as the writer is aware the only gesture of regret over this was that sickly act—the kidnapping of Little Six and Medicine Bottle.

Of the five hundred Indians who lived to reach the settlement there were of course some who had been deprived of their supporters by American bullets or otherwise; and these the band was glad to part with on almost any terms. For instance Mr. Hargrave informs us that the Grey Nuns of St. François Xavier

bought a boy and three girls for one hundred and twenty pounds of pemmican.

To give these Indians a better chance to help provide for themselves they were encouraged to separate into two or three camps. Some were sent to Lake Manitoba where they could easily catch any number of pike with the simple outfit of hook and line. And about one third of the entire lot located at Portage la Prairie, camping in the bush immediately west of Garrioch's Creek at the place where Rowe Street crosses the Creek. This camp was about two hundred steps from my father's place and only half that distance from John James Setter, who was next to us on the south. The only establishments in the place at this date in a position to help supply these Indians with food were the Hudson's Bay Company, Archdeacon Cochrane, my father, David Cusitar and John Hodgson and his son William.

Due to the £350 worth of provisions which they had helped to eat, the Indians who arrived in Portage were in pretty good flesh and decidedly good spirits, evidently not troubled with any pangs of conscience for the sins they had committed in Minnesota. They were more ready than we to laugh and sing and dance; and at first, hardly could we realize that the much feared Sioux whose surreptitious visits we had heard of, had this time come openly *en masse* as self-invited guests. And as we came to know each other better I believe we went up in each others esteem. Those Sioux I am sure would have fought for us then as their descendants afterwards did in the World War; and we, on our part looked not upon them for what they had done without a proper consideration of extenuating circumstances.

As far as the writer is concerned the opinion formed of them then I still think was correct up to that date, whatever it may be now, and I considered the Sioux intellectually the equal if not the superior of the Crees; their taste and skill in hand-craft, superior; their performances in the way of gymnastics and manly sports, far ahead. They were as regards speed like foxes; as regards powers of endurance, like wolves. And in one statement at least, there breathes not the man who need contradict me—they were the most omnivorous feeders the world has ever produced; and by

way of showing that this statement is not made unadvisedly I shall mention an incident or two.

We had an old horse named Busk who had over-fed on goose grass. This particular grass it is said, if fed too long will perforate the viscera, because of its file-like surface; and when Busk felt sick he came home and died and was buried. And not many days thereafter the squaws discovered his grave, and upon being informed of who and what lay there they proceeded without more loss of time to disinter him; and when they found out how fat he was they laughed and said, "*wasta, boys,*" good boys; and by the time they got through there were no remains there except the contents of the viscera and a few grey hairs.

Here follows the other instance in which they showed themselves comprehensive feeders. In 1863 our crop of potatoes was so large that a great surplus was dumped into a pit and covered over in a style which turned out defective, so that in spring at least a hundred bushels were thrown out frozen. Under the hot spring sun they very soon became like so many wet sponges. Nevertheless, the squaws set to work upon them, slicing and drying them, and the soup in which these chips were the principal ingredient, was of a chocolate colour, while as to the taste I can only say on the *evidence of the squaws* that it was *wasta*, good.

The singing and dancing of these Indians was really good, and when they found out that we thought so their most expert performers went from house to house putting on a little programme for which there was no charge, although the entertained, of course, knew that a sign of appreciation would be in order in the shape of refreshments.

As may be supposed the Portagers soon felt that they were getting too much of a good thing. Especially did we who were nearest the camp and had to get used to the beating of the tom-tom during the livelong night. Mrs. Setter, who was a poor sleeper could not do this; and when Mr. Setter heard her say as she sometimes did in our hearing, "I did not get a wink of sleep all night," my brother and I felt quite sympathetic, partly perhaps because a nice young girl, Mrs. Setter's sister was staying with her;

so when Mr. Setter said to us one evening, "Boys, I know of something we could do to stop that racket," we were very much interested, while he proposed that we three should get our double-barrelled shot-guns and quietly approach to within a few yards of the camp and discharge them at the upper ends of the tent poles. We carried out this plan the next night, and standing side by side on the east slope of Garrioch's Creek, we sent six heavy charges of duck shot whistling through the midnight air straight for the protruding tent poles. On the instant there followed a noise somewhat in the nature of a gasp—and then a dead silence. But we couldn't fool those Indians. Their reasoning was perfect—they were no real enemies who did this. If they were they would have used something bigger than duck shot and would not have aimed so high. And the rest of the story soon came out, for it was hard to keep a straight face when they informed us of what had happened, and as far as my brother and I were concerned, realizing that there was little comfort in copying the way of Captain Marryat's heroes, we were now content to emulate the, more tame example of the great Washington who when appearances were against him made a clean breast of it and told the truth.

A certain unfriendly clan in the Council of Portage la Prairie became quite wrought up over this affair, and contended that to wound the feelings of a race like the Sioux in such a manner was liable to lead to very serious consequences. A meeting of the Council was therefore called to convince the Indians that the community disapproved of the act of the three Waseejous; and it was required of my father and Mr. Setter that they make a present to the Indians to heal their mental hurt. At the same time the Indians were given to understand that their nightly incantations were not acceptable. Of this they awaited no further proof; and as soon as they had eaten their presents, they struck camp and moved to the bush east of the church, where they carried on as they had done before. They, however, took the precaution of leaving about four times the distance between them and the nearest house, which happened to be that of the hard-working Orkneyman, David Cusitar, who was well to do; but whose nerves were probably not any better than those of Mr. Setter.

And it is claimed that one night he stood in front of his house and emptied the six chambers of his revolver in the direction of the Sioux camp. Then followed another meeting of the Council. "The other side" looked out for that—and it was arranged that Mr. Cusitar turn over a little ox to the Indians on the condition that they would remove to where they could spend their nights as they pleased without interfering with the comfort of the neighbourhood.

But for the interference of the others it is the writer's opinion that the Indians would have taken no serious notice of the foolish action of shooting at their tents. My father and mother were doing a good deal for them, and they were not unmindful of it. In return for what little service he could render they were feeding and clothing an orphan boy. And a widow who was nursing her only son, who was dying of tuberculosis was allowed to pitch her tent beside our house, whence her daily needs were supplied until the death of her son some months later. As well as any other people these Sioux can remember a kindness, though of all people the most inexorable in personally exacting a life for a life even of their own race.

We had a startling instance of this a little later. It was the beginning of winter when there was just enough snow to bury the fallen leaves. We were threshing our grain by means of a tread mill when this happened. Along a footpath which passed beside us we saw three Indians approaching Indian file. They went on and a few seconds later there was the report of a gun-shot from the direction they had taken, and we noticed that there were now only two men. Stopping the machine and walking about thirty steps we came to Indian number three, and he was lying on his blanket on the snow, stone dead. Two Sioux, Jim and Charley were helping us thresh, and from what Jim told us in broken English, the occurrence was quite in order according to the approved custom of the Sioux, and the man who had fired the shot was only settling a long-standing account for the killing of a near relative. It looked suspiciously as if our two Indian helpers were not only privy to the intended shooting but had collaborated over the obsequies; for they asked father for time to bury the body at once; and in order to shorten the delay in the threshing we all attended at what

I suppose could not be called either a ceremony or a funeral; but might be called an undertaking. As Jim transferred the tobacco pouch from the belt of the fallen man to his own, he looked round at us with a comical expression which was very easy of interpretation. The body was then placed straight on the blanket. Jim and Charlie each took hold of a corner in front, and my father and my uncle, William Garrioch, the corners behind; and with my brother and myself and an Indian boy as the rest of the cortege, the Indian ten minutes before "in the midst of life" now "in death" was borne to his last resting place one hundred yards southwest of where he had fallen, and there on the west bank of Garrioch's Creek the body was laid in a grave eighteen inches deep without any ceremony other than a regretful remark or a sigh. And less than an hour after our threshing had been interrupted it was resumed.

According to their own ideas of justice, the Sioux could not expect to be long in Red River without being called to account by their inveterate foes the Ojibeway for having invaded the hunting grounds of their congeners, the Saulteaux. And what was to be expected soon happened when in the vicinity of Fort Garry several men of the Sioux tribe were shot down by a war party of Ojibeway. A year later a Sioux camp at Lake Manitoba was attacked at night by a party from Red Lake when six Sioux were killed and so many severely wounded that sixteen more died later on. The last outrage committed by these Red Lakers was the slaying of a Sioux lad who was working for Mrs. Jack Spence. They shot him down beside a cart loaded with hay of which he was in charge, and after mangling his body left it where it fell.

Events such as these which were so common during the last decade of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company's rule no doubt gave emphasis to arguments freely circulated at the time by means of the *Nor'-Wester*, favouring the termination of the Company's rule. And that the transfer was in order not any later than it occurred nobody can deny, and when the change was obviously impending had all parties concerned been equally reasonable as to the Company's claims upon the country and Empire for what it had accomplished, the terms of transfer could have been more quickly arranged and much more pleasantly carried out.

That a change such as this would not be in general favour with all concerned was to be expected, for improvement involves innovation, and innovation involves scrapping, and whether we like it or not we have got to get used to it, for unless we go forward we shall go backward. And of all generations which have been during the Christian dispensation there have not been many which, oftener than that to which the writer belongs, have been called upon to adjust themselves to "the changes and chances of this mortal life."

For instance the passing away of the hundreds of thousands of buffalo which fattened on the plains of the Saskatchewan, Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine, whose flesh in its various forms was by four generations fittingly called "*provisions*." Then there were the passenger pigeons, beautiful and clean birds they were, whose flesh was even choicer eating than that of the partridge or pheasant. Before a falling off in their numbers became noticeable, when they were in flight southwards, flying quite low, hundreds of thousands would pass in a single day. When they were working on the stubble and from there flew on to the snake fence the writer has brought down as many as a dozen in one shot, and earlier in the season by means of a net stretched over a frame has taken as many as sixty at a single draw. It seems almost incredible that only forty years after this was being done, the last passenger pigeon was dead, but I state this to be the case on the authority of Mr. C. G. Abbot of the Smithsonian Institute who wrote me as follows: "The passenger pigeon (or wild pigeon) became extinct as a wild bird shortly after the year 1900, possibly about 1904, but an individual in the Cincinnati Zoological Gardens lived until September 1, 1914, marking the actual date of the extinction of the species."

For a few years after the settlement of Portage had been established, we had to put up with the inconvenience of going to Red River to have our wheat converted into flour. My father soon tired of this, and so bought the wind-mill operated at Park's Creek by his old neighbour William Bird. After excavating the basement where he thought of erecting the mill, he became convinced that the form of the bush nearby with its many stately trees was liable to interfere with the steadiness of the wind from

most points of the compass; so he sold out to John Hodgson, who set up the mill a few yards distant from the house in which Archdeacon Cochrane held his first religious services in Portage la Prairie.

Mr. Hodgson was a fine elderly man about six feet in height. He had accompanied Dr. Franklin on some of his northern explorations; and was no doubt at the time a picked man. Before his death there had somehow got to be an exaggerated version of what John had seen on one of these journeys, it being stated that he had seen the north pole, which was a tremendous affair projecting out of the earth and badly off perpendicular. As a miller no doubt Mr. Hodgson did the best he could; but he had a hard time trying to please everybody, for the people had been so long without a sufficiency of bread that their grinders worked faster than the mill, and however hard it might blow its capacity seemed to lag behind that of the people.

All this was changed when in 1871 William M. Smith, known as Billy Smith, put up a steam grist mill, and the year following Logan Brothers and Company put up another.

After disposing of the machinery of the windmill my father set about the construction of a threshing machine. He did all the wood-work himself; but what iron was used was forged into shape by the country-trained blacksmith Peter Henderson, Sr. A building twenty-five feet square was required to contain the power-wheel, which was twenty-two feet in diameter, and by means of braces and cross-beams was raised overhead of the four yoke of horses and oxen which turned it. Taking this immense wheel and the rest of the machinery and all the experiments which led up to its completion into consideration, it must have represented in labour and material an amount that ran into thousands of dollars. As we threshed mostly in winter my brother and I did not greatly admire the outfit, for it was fearfully cold work driving the oxen and horses, and we were agreed that, all told, it could hardly be called a labour-saving device, yet even from our viewpoint, it was a triumph of thrift, perseverance and skill, nor could we deny that father had accomplished what he had set out to do—to plan, make, own and operate a threshing

machine which would enable him to dispense with the antiquated flail.

For a number of years father used it to thresh our own crop; but in 1863 Archdeacon Cochrane imported a single horse tread-mill from St. Paul, U.S.A. This mill he turned over to my uncle, William Garrioch, who, after threshing out the Archdeacon's crop used to go around threshing for others, and it was this outfit we were using when the murder of a Sioux occurred close by, as has been already recorded.

Archdeacon Cochrane always smiled approvingly on my father's inventive efforts, and encouraged him in his opinion that his big wheel might be turned to account for gristing as well as threshing purposes. Looking round for what was needed, father was shown an advertisement and cut of a wonderful little grist mill, the invention of an American by the name of J. B. Coleman, who claimed that it would grind and bolt three bushels of wheat in an hour. On trial it was found to be exactly the other way—it took three hours to grind one bushel; and even at that, as the grinding part was of steel, shaped like a coffee mill, it became so heated after grinding a few gallons that it became necessary to stop to let it cool off; in short, as a means of turning grain into flour it was a fake. As a crusher, however, it was pretty good, because it did not need to be screwed up so tight and therefore did not become so heated.

Until 1870 the citizens of Portage la Prairie had to go to the older settlement if they wished to secure the services of a doctor; but it was not often that a journey thither could be taken expressly for that purpose, and in the case of an epidemic such as measles or whooping cough, Mrs. Cochrane was consulted, as she had some experience with medicine before coming to this country. But in any case which was more in the nature of surgery most people applied to Mrs. Jack Spence, who had a simple method of relieving young tummys of pain; and also of curing aching heads by scarifying the temple with a flint and to the scratches thus made applying her mouth and so removing a small quantity of blood.

Mrs. Spence was a Swampy Cree. Her husband, Jack Spence was an English Half-caste, a good deal older than she; and as he was in failing health years before he died, she was obliged to add to her womanly duties others which are usually associated with the sterner sex. And when the Sioux lad as related was shot by the Ojibeway she was only a little way ahead with another load of hay. She was an uncommon person who added the strength and courage of a man to the gentleness and affection of a woman in a manner not derogatory to the character of either. She came to Portage la Prairie from St. Peter's about the same time as the Archdeacon himself, whose high estimate of her character was such that in his sermon one Sunday, when referring to some women of the parish who were wont to assemble to drink tea and gossip, he quoted Mrs. Spence to them by name as an example of a woman who minded her own business and procured meat for her household.

It was a pleasure to have her around because she laughed so easily and so heartily, and her life had been eventful enough to make her interesting company. Mrs. Peter Henderson who still lives in Portage, relates the following story as told her by Mrs. Spence herself.

It had been a lingering spring. Rabbit snaring was past. Summer fowl were slow in arriving. Her husband was then bed-ridden. The supply of food was gone. On the morning of this eventful day, she, her husband and son—a lad named Abraham—had breakfasted on nothing but tea. On discussing the situation with her husband he told her he was an old man, and was still able to say that the Lord had always sent him his daily bread. Rising from the floor she reached up for her single barrel flint-lock and powder horn and shot-pouch, and started after the daily bread. Following the swamp or Crescent Lake southward, and keeping the bush of Spence's point to her left, she went forward hoping that something would be sent her way that would justify her husband's faith; and presently she espied a flock of geese. Approaching with great care as near as she dared, she took steady aim and shot one. It was a fine bird, and picking it up she started home with a light heart. As she entered her dwelling her husband piped up from his lonely corner, "Ah, didn't

I tell you that the Lord would provide?" Mrs. Henderson then quotes her as saying, "I thought I might as well have a little fun with *ke-sa-yi-nio*, the old man, and I replied, 'All very well for you to lie there and say the Lord will provide; but what would have happened had it not been for my gun?' " After all what she said was in line with the teaching of St. James: "Faith without works is dead." She showed her faith with her works, and the results were a dead goose, a good breakfast and a thankful and happy family.

The following incident will show that Mrs. Spence was a physician well able to take care of herself as well as her patients. She had journeyed one summer with horse and cart to visit her friends at St. Peter's, fully intending to return in time to have the approaching accouchement take place at home; but she was a trifle out in her calculations, and one evening as the sun was about to dip below the horizon, and home was still two miles away, she knew that her hour had come. Convenient for her purpose was a nice little pond about one hundred steps north of the road. Hastily unharnessing the horse and making it secure for the night she next made herself as comfortable as circumstances would permit, and early in the morning after a light breakfast, she gathered up her things, including an addition to the family, in the form of a little daughter, and harnessing her horse finished the journey. The little one was christened Sarah, and the place where she first saw the light of day was named by my father, "Sarah's Pond," a name by which it was afterwards known in our family. And to this day the writer never passes the spot without looking at it wonderingly. Probably by this time the entire family have passed away; for Sarah died young, and the son, Abraham was not strong. The name of Mrs. Jack Spence, however, should not be forgotten for she was one of the great women of St. Mary's la Prairie.

In June, 1865, Archdeacon Cochrane resigned and left Portage la Prairie for Toronto, intending, it was supposed, to spend the remainder of his days quietly in that city. He and Mrs. Cochrane travelling in a covered cart, joined a party of freighters, who with their Red River carts drawn mostly by oxen, were on their way to St. Cloud for the annual supply of goods for the Settlement.

Among the party was Mr. Colin Inkster, now well known for many years as Sheriff Inkster. The following is an extract from a sketch of the life of Archdeacon Cochrane, contributed by the Sheriff to "Leaders of the Canadian Church," a book published in 1920. It will be remembered that in chapter eleven I quoted from the Sheriff's sketch in this book, showing that Archdeacon Cochrane was a man of wonderful physical strength.

"One day," writes the Sheriff, "when we had stopped for our mid-day meal, along came a company of American cavalry. Their horses took fright at our strange-looking carts, and commenced prancing and wheeling around. The riders gave bent to profanity. The Archdeacon immediately jumped up from his meal without coat or cap and said to them: 'You are not brave men or you would not mention your Maker's name in this way.' He talked to them for a few minutes. Some of them went on while others stopped to hear what he had to say, and when leaving thanked him for his good advice. The sight of this old man, with his white hair waving in the summer breeze, stopping and reprimanding a body of horsemen in a foreign country, is one of the most courageous acts I have ever witnessed. Certainly he was a man instant both in season and out of season bearing testimony to his Master."

As on a previous occasion the change and rest was followed by a desire to get back to the front. His spirits revived, and again he began to think of what he might be able to do before the night cometh when no man can work; so after he and Mrs. Cochrane had spent some time with their son, the Reverend Thomas, who was ill, they once more turned their faces northwards.

Mr. J. Hargrave, who was on his way to Eastern Canada, describes thus his meeting with them at Fort Abercrombie:

"In the afternoon the stage coach from St. Paul arrived. Among the passengers to my great surprise was Archdeacon and Mrs. Cochrane, then on their way back to the Red River. The Archdeacon told me his health had somewhat failed him in Canada, and he thought he could still be of some use in the Settlement, and had resolved to come back."

Before the Archdeacon left for Canada he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Rev. Henry George, who came from the mission

at Westbourne which he had established under the Church Missionary Society in 1859.

When the Archdeacon returned from Toronto, Westbourne was still vacant, and as there was a comfortable parsonage there it likely occurred to him that it would be convenient all round if he took charge of the parish *pro tem* at any rate; so after a short rest in Portage he moved there in the last days of September. Not many days thereafter it was reported at Portage that he was ill, from the effects, it was supposed, of having taken a bath in the limpid but rather cool waters of the White Mud River. In order that he might obtain better nursing he was gently moved to Portage, John McLean using his democrat—which was the only one in Portage—for that purpose. The move was not supposed to have aggravated his disorder; but he continued to grow worse steadily, and his death occurred on Sunday, October the first.

Sometimes as we grope our way through the gloom which besets the homeward path there flashes a light along that path, and in the solemn hush which follows we listen more intent than formerly and catch at least an echo of a voice "from far away." There was a beautiful fitness in the time and place and manner in which the members of St. Mary's Church were engaged when the soul of their friend and pastor was taken to its rest. It was on the Lord's Day at the hour of morning prayer. It was after receiving the memorials of Divine love in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper—there in the log church by the river, built under his leadership—where for twelve years he had led them in prayer and praise to God, and taught them the duties, privileges and glories of the Christian calling. It was while they were engaged in the service of Holy Communion that the soul of the good Archdeacon passed away. And before the people dispersed they were informed of what had happened, and perhaps in the solemn hush which followed it was permitted him once more to bless them in The Master's name.

The news of his death came as a great shock to many people; indeed it is safe to say that no death in the land up to that time, had created so profound an impression.

In accordance with his wish, his body was laid to rest in the cemetery of St. Andrew's Church; and as the majority of the Protestants in the Settlement at the time of his death had at one time or another received the benefit of his ministrations, it was fitting that the place of sepulture should be beside the church most identified with his labours, and the most important and central of the five he had built.

The six parishioners who were chosen as pall-bearers were, John James Setter, John Corrigan, John McLean, John Garrioch, Frederick Bird and Peter Henderson. They all wore new black hats and new cloth capots. Some statements have been made about this funeral which are not according to facts. The writer has therefore been at considerable pains to have his recollections corroborated by others who were in as good a position as himself to get the facts correctly; and the following may be confidently accepted as authentic:

The body was placed in the same democrat, which has already been mentioned as having been used when the deceased had been taken ill at Westbourne and had to be brought to Portage; and it was felt that it would only be fitting that at different churches along the highway between Portage and St. Andrew's an opportunity should be given those who wished to participate in a religious service. Arrangements therefore had to be made for this purpose, and in a few places a short service was held. When this took place the body would be lifted from the democrat on to a bier, and so carried into the church on the shoulders of the pall-bearers. Thus, even in centres where a service could not be arranged people gathered in groups and with bared heads reverently watched the passing cortege, perchance a latent thought among them—"Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

Arriving at St. Andrew's the cortege was met at the entrance to the church by the Incumbent, Archdeacon Cowley, who was the oldest missionary from England then in the country, having arrived in 1841. He was at the time of Archdeacon Cochrane's death secretary for the Church Missionary Society in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and in his report for that year makes the following reference to the funeral:

"Unfeigned was the sorrow manifest upon the countenance of very many that day, and few who were present will ever forget the solemnity of the occasion. I felt called upon to give some expression to the feeling by which so many were moved, who had known and venerated the dear deceased for so many years. The word produced a melancholy echo, if I may so speak, in the tears and sobs of the assembled people; there could have been but few dry cheeks that day. The labours of our venerable friend are ended. He died in peace. He has entered into his rest. His works will follow him."

Regarding the date of his funeral Mr. Hargrave remarks: "By a strange coincidence he was buried at St. Andrew's cemetery on the first Friday of October, that being the day of the week on which on Friday, the seventh of October, 1825, he landed forty years previously at Red River Settlement as assistant to Mr. Jones."

Associated as he had been with the primitive order of things prevailing in the Red River Settlement, it would have been no easy matter for a man of his strong will to have readily adapted himself to the order of things under the new regime, of which already, during the latter years of his ministry, there were so many premonitory signs. Having during his long residence in the country contributed so largely to the temporal as well as the spiritual betterment of its people it is hardly likely that he could have quiescently retired from the position of adviser and leader to that of a mere spectator, while hardships always incident to any great change were pressing heavily upon the weaker of those to whom he had ministered. Well, therefore, may his best friends say thankfully that he was spared these further "miseries of an evil world."



CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1865-1868

Changes Coincident With The Arrival of Bishop Machray

LIFE however interesting must seem to most of us sometimes like a series of endless repetitions. No wonder that it has been observed that "history repeats itself;" and the only thing that can prevent life from becoming hopelessly monotonous is to practise the habit of living for its proper consummation. Then shall it be found that history has a way of repeating itself with wonderfully interesting variations. For instance, since this actually happened, how often has it been re-enacted in principle and general outline: the chosen people are led by the hand of Moses and Aaron through the wilderness for forty years, during which period they are miraculously guided by a fiery cloudy pillar, are refreshed from a stream gushing from a rock and are fed with manna and quails which are sent from heaven; but at the end of the forty-year period these temporary provisions fail, and under new leadership they enter the promised land, which is the beginning of an era of real advancement though they are to live now under less extraordinary conditions. This episode was re-enacted in principle and outline in a striking manner as recently as the last century. The people of this country were blessed with the spiritual leadership of Bishop Anderson and Archdeacon Cochrane, and during a forty-year period the latter served in the land before being called to his rest, they too, had temporary provisions; but theirs was from bands of buffalo and flocks of passenger pigeons innumerable—and they too had their bread, but theirs was "the true bread which came from heaven," and

they got it just as freely as the others got their mahna, because the mother church was true to her Lord and Master and sent the gospel to the people of this land free of cost. And as in the first instance there was a new era which was begun under new leadership, so in this there was a new era—that of self-support, and it began under the leadership of Bishop Machray; and the writer knows of no reason why it should not be as readily believed that there was divine inspiration and the transmission of the divine blessing in this instance, from the preparatory period to the new era under the leadership of Bishop Machray and his co-workers, as that it should be believed that such inspiration and blessing was enjoyed by Moses and Aaron and passed on to Joshua the leader in the new era. The paying of tithes as required by the law of Moses and the consecration of self and substance in obedience to the Christian Joshua are both things that would not have been but for the divine influence and power.

When this country was undergoing the great change which culminated in the Transfer, we of the inhabitants who believed in civilization had great expectations. For instance, A. C. Garrioch who was then getting about man size, feeling that it would be a fine time to build himself a house, seeing some beautiful oak trees he hired a man to fell and hew them for foundation timbers; but under the condition of things he had first to settle with the Government agent, Major Naisbit, at so much a linear foot. After that there was title to be secured for the town lot on which the building was to be erected. This was drawn up in good style by Mr. Ryan—afterwards judge, for \$5. That convinced A. C. G. that in the new era he had not the necessary funds for carrying out his building project; and induced him in common with those of the old regime to look for a new meaning in the words freedom, liberty, independence, protection. And this was the case as much in religious as in secular matters. Take for instance the prophet's metaphorical language about buying wine and milk without money and without price. We regarded it as an appropriate and beautiful figure of speech and left it at that; but when later we found that we were expected to pay for having the gospel preached to us, we were at first rather taken aback; but by the grace of God we did it, and did it cheerfully, for *here* if

needs be we may get along without a house, but *hereafter*, please God, nothing less for us than the house of many mansions.

It was fortunate for the church in Rupert's Land when Robert Machray was consecrated Bishop, for if there be a time more than any other when able leadership becomes particularly desirable it is surely when changes have occurred which render reconstruction the alternative of retreat. And when that time was fully come, a man was sent fully equipped mentally, morally and spiritually to meet its requirements. In sizing up this man the writer has on various occasions used himself as a yard-stick several times repeated; but Bishop Machray arrived in this country with a more reliable passport than that, to the esteem of its inhabitants, in the form of a foundation fellowship from Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; and while that in itself qualified him for a position in the Christian ministry, he did not accept holy orders without qualifying in the usual manner, nor did he accept promotion until as a parish priest in England he had demonstrated his ability to grapple with other than mathematical problems.

And now I propose to devote some space in showing that what was accomplished in the new era in the way of Christian civilization was simply another progressive stage following an important one which had preceded it, and which was in such perfect harmony therewith that there was left behind no flaw to show where the two were joined, sure indication that the promoters were working upon a common plan, and building upon the surest and best foundations, with the same grand consummation ever kept in view.

When Bishop Machray arrived in Rupert's Land in 1865, Archdeacon Cochrane had only a few days been laid to rest, and as he came to see for himself the evidences of the zeal and energy of that servant of God, extending all the way between St. Peter's, the northern limit of Red River Settlement, and Portage la Prairie where he made his last stand in the cause of Christ, he could not fail to have been greatly impressed; and as he rested in the parsonage where the Archdeacon himself had finished his task, and his son-in-law Rev. Henry George was taking up his, he was in a fitting place to have a vision of his own undertaking. It was

a place where he might well find encouragement and inspiration for the work ahead of him, such as parochial reorganization, diocesan reorganization, and as a pre-requisite of the extension of the church's usefulness, the resuscitation of St. John's Collegiate School.

While it is generally conceded that Archbishop Machray left the impress of a master-hand on the educational institutions of his day, the writer has little doubt that however gratifying it may have been to him to accomplish what he did in the interests of higher education, he would have been much more gratified if the Christian denominations—designated by him “religious bodies”—had been actuated by a spirit as tolerant as his own, and permitted of what he so often publicly recommended—religious exercises in the common schools—thus retaining in the new era, in a modified form, one of the finest traits characteristic of the old.

In the foregoing remarks the writer does not asperse the course followed by any “religious body” or anybody who is not religious any more than he necessarily includes them when referring to a co-ordination of epochs which left no scar. What I particularly had in mind was the Anglican Church to which I happen to belong; and what that church has stood for before and since the Transfer, and what it will stand for to the end of time, viz: the advancement of Christian civilization, by working in harmony with all such as manifestly believe in the God and Saviour of all, and are making their honest contribution to the glory of God and the good of man.

It must indeed be admitted that the changes which occurred coincident with the Transfer in the matter of government, church support and education were much more epochal in character than what John McLean called “a new era in farming,” which, if at all an era, was a backward one in that John McLean cut his crops with a cradle, whereas John Garrioch cut his with a reaping machine. The cradle stage was not encouraged by Bishop Machray. He taught the people from the first that the church in the Mother Land would gradually withdraw its help as parishes in Red River became equal to their own support. He and his co-workers had much educating to do on these lines. On the other

hand the Government relieved them of the obligation of educating the people, secularly speaking, by introducing compulsory education.

When these changes were taking place the writer, as a young man, studied the effects at Portage la Prairie which at that time was a larger place than Winnipeg; and it must be confessed that the effect for some time on the Anglican Church and school was quite disturbing, for very soon there were three churches or congregations—Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists, and two schools—the Anglican school and the public or Government school. During the old regime we Anglicans had a comfortable sort of feeling that we belonged to an established church; but we began to feel differently about that; although as we were being taught to do more for the support of the church, we were in truth just beginning to get established. And as for the school question, as the population was pretty solidly Protestant there was not much sleep lost over that. The Presbyterian minister, Mr. Fletcher, who had been an inspector of schools in Ontario, gave a lecture on education at our Anglican Improvement Society, and according to his showing it worked very satisfactorily there.

As may be supposed the writer has not come this far in life without having had occasion to study the wording and working of the school act. I have done so on several occasions, and have discussed its various phases with parents, trustees and teachers and have come to the conclusion that the compilers were so conscious of the delicacy of their task that they produced an ordinance which breathed in every sentence a warning to all and sundry who might be disposed to avail themselves of its provisions to be extremely careful of how they set about it if they wished to be sure of not getting into trouble. And as far as I could discover all and sundry had taken the warning, and in consequence the teaching of religion, theoretically at any rate, was being left outside the school.

As far as the Anglican Church was concerned its regret was chiefly on account of the exclusion from the school, as text books, of both the Old and the New Testament; for otherwise the act functioned to the moral and financial advantage of its members,

in that the Government would now demand what the Protestant churches had striven for right along—that all the people should become conversant with the three R's while it imposed no ban against their obtaining the fourth R from the churches as before, and from other sources as accessible. Therefore from the moral aspect it might be said that the gain was certain, while pecuniarily it was easily calculable. For the maintaining of a school cost the Anglican Church from forty to sixty pounds sterling in cash and kind, and being relieved of the obligation to raise that sum for such a purpose was obviously in the nature of a *quid pro quo*, which could be otherwise applied for the benefit of the church.

It will be readily admitted that when the Government of this country was so changed as to necessitate a change in church and school methods as well, it was in the best interests of the inhabitants that those who were to be entrusted with these undertakings should be men who were conversant with conditions in this country of whom some at least would be competent to speak from personal experience of the merits of other methods of church and school support; and of such there was no lack as one half of the Missionaries in Rupert's Land were native born, and the other half came from England; and as every parish or mission school was subject to the approval of the missionary, and in some cases was taught by the missionary himself, the Anglican Church ought to have known, and it did know, what it was doing when it accepted the assistance of the Government in the important work of educating the people, in which endeavour it had itself up to this time done more than "its little bit."

SOME MORE OF THE HISTORY OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

Rev. Henry George who succeeded Archdeacon Cochrane as Incumbent of St. Mary's, Portage la Prairie, was in several important respects well suited for this period. He was born in London, England and was the son of a surgeon in the British army who had seen active service at Waterloo and elsewhere. He was educated at King's College, and for some time his studies were directed with a view to his qualifying for a position in the army such as that held by his father; but upon his expressing a

preference for missionary work, and a desire to go out as a missionary to the natives of Rupert's Land, he was given a course in theology and admitted to deacon's orders. He arrived in Red River Settlement in 1856, and was in the same year admitted to priest's orders by Bishop Anderson. He married Miss Mary Anne Cochrane, second daughter of Archdeacon Cochrane. His first charge was at Cumberland House, at that time called Ni-po-wi-win, where he remained three years. In 1860 he moved in to Westbourne, then on the resignation of Archdeacon Cochrane he moved into Portage la Prairie.

Of Mr. George it might be said that it could be known from his walk and conversation that he was an Englishman and a gentleman; and more than that his manner was sufficiently military to prepare one to hear that he had been intended for a military calling. He introduced military drill in the school; and in the pulpit he gave emphasis to the analogy that Christians are soldiers of the cross engaged in a campaign against sin which they are pledged to prosecute to the last redout. And in line with this teaching his favourite hymn in the Sunday School was:

"Hold the fort for I am coming.
Jesus signals still.
Wave the answer back to heaven,
By Thy grace we will.

Ho my comrades, see the signal
Waving in the sky:
Reinforcements now appearing,
Victory is nigh."

It has already been remarked that after their forty years in the wilderness it was a military man who introduced the Israelites to the more desirable conditions of the new epoch, and this military trait in Mr. George makes the parallelism which has already been remarked upon the more striking. The congregation of St. Mary's was fortunate in having a man like Mr. George take charge just when he did, as his love of young people made him fond of school-teaching. And as it happened, after Mr. Peter Garrioch

resigned the position of school-teacher in 1864, Archdeacon Cochrane had to draw upon his old parish of St. Peter's to find a successor, and he engaged for the work one Joseph Tait, a Swampy Cree. Mr. Tait, as far as his attainments permitted was a faithful teacher; but we were beginning to presume that we were well abreast of him in the three R's when Mr. George arrived and took up the teaching of history, geography and grammar.

If only we could get as our teachers and pastors full-fledged Christian men and women who loved young people, and who could adapt themselves to their junior level without conscious effort, in a very short time atheism would die a natural death. In making this statement I do not mean to say that it should be the special endeavour of teachers to guard their pupils against atheistic tendencies; but rather that they should be qualified to correct such tendencies should occasion for doing so arise. For whatever the explanation may be, there has never been so much preaching against the sin of unbelief as since higher education has been made so easy of access to the masses.

Boys and girls about to pass into manhood and womanhood are apt to be a somewhat conceited lot; nevertheless with a rare exception they respect those of riper years than themselves, regarding them as wise from experience; in fact, taking them as a whole, at this stage of their young lives they are a loving, lovable and impressionable lot, capable of great things if they are rightly handled, and the public have a right to demand in the interests of humanity that at this critical stage they won't be turned over to instructors, who after having themselves dabbled in things which pass man's understanding, shall be given a chance to encourage the rising generation to the same folly.

Doubtless in days gone by a good deal of kindness deserving of a better fate was thrown away upon the writer; but certainly not that which was bestowed upon me by the Rev. Henry George at the impressionable age just referred to—that age when the question begins to come home to one with increasing seriousness—what are you going to be? The kindness received helped me answer that question, not because there was along with it any explanation of the purpose. It was simply just kindness; something

which showed conclusively that I was considered worth bothering about, something done for me of the wholesomeness of which I need never have any doubt.

Looking back upon my early years and selecting the one from which I may fittingly date my manhood, I select 1867 because in the winter of that year the attitude of Rev. Henry George toward me began to be that of a man towards a man, and I appreciated the promotion all the more because it was unobtrusive and unpatronizing. Several times that winter I was the guest of the Georges of an evening, and felt myself not a little honoured while at their hospitable board I partook of the cup which cheers not too much, and then with Mr. George adjourned to the study mainly alight from a blazing fire in the chimney, which flashing upon the books which filled the shelves along the opposite wall made a picture of cheerfulness and comfort, and at the same time provided golden topics of conversation. Later, with one of the books in my possession I would be escorted a little beyond the garden gate; and one night when the stars in their multitudinous array seemed particularly suggestive of the question, "what is man" before we parted he looked up and around, and he pointed out to me such of the planets of our own system which at that time were visible—but he made no speech—he only looked up—that was the main thing. And that is the way, I should think, that our budding men and women might obtain or be helped to retain the right bent in their inclinations.

Like the other Anglican clergy of Rupert's Land, Mr. George was evangelical; but he was certainly much stricter than his predecessor in matters of churchmanship; and very shortly after he took charge the twin pulpits and rail already described disappeared, and there was a general advance in the church fabric, especially striking at the east end (geographically the west end) where under Mr. George's direction there took place a reconstruction and rearrangement which was neatly carried out by William Hodgson assisted by Frederick Bird. Between them they constructed a regular chancel interiorly by means of partitions finished at the top with narrow panel work and mouldings; and in this arrangement there was a pulpit, organ loft, lectern and

prayer desk. A font was also introduced which was placed to the right of the door at the back of the church.

In the organ loft mentioned which occupied the same position as that of the now removed pulpit in which the Archdeacon was wont to preach, there was installed a small barrel organ, which was the pioneer musical instrument at any religious service in Portage la Prairie. It had several barrels each containing several hymn tunes. It was operated by a crank, and the organist was a boy of thirteen or fourteen named Henry Corrigan. On one occasion this organ was the innocent cause of considerable diversion. I suppose as time went on Henry became over-confident, and, at any rate on the occasion referred to failed to "magnify his office" sufficiently and so failed to put in the right barrel, consequently when Mr. George had announced the hymn and then commenced to lead the congregation in the tune intended, Henry was turning out one which was not intended; and this went on until some awful discords brought both singing and playing to a halt, necessitating Mr. George's hurried entrance into the organ loft where he was occupied for over a minute in making the necessary adjustment.

Coincident with the changes in the church fabric and the installation of the organ, there was made the greatest change of all—the introduction of the offertory, a fit beginning in systematic giving, aiming at a self-supporting parish. The offertory was taken up by means of a little wooden box with a handle four feet long, by means of which the collector was enabled to reach every person in a pew.

The services in Mr. George's time were attended by Anglicans only, as Presbyterian services were held in Kenneth McBean's house by Rev. Robert Fletcher as early as 1863, succeeded later by services under Rev. Alexander Matheson which were held in a building further west on Crescent Lake beginning in 1867.

There was perhaps never a more critical time in the history of Portage la Prairie than the first seven years of Mr. George's incumbency, which covered the five years previous to, and the two years succeeding the Transfer. This was due to the meeting

there in unfriendly contact of the Sioux and Saukteaux, the arrival of new settlers from Eastern Canada, and an American or two who dealt in whiskey.

Of the settlers from Ontario it can be truly said, that with a rare exception they adapted themselves to the requirements of the country in a commendable manner; and that the effect of their coming was not to over-turn or nullify the good feeling between Whites and Indians which had been fostered by Archdeacon Cochrane and his parishioners; but as the population increased and became more mixed in the manner aforeshown—especially in being mixed with bad whiskey—then the bad Indian displayed his badness and the same with the old timer and the Ontarion, and the American, and the badness in the community was more than it could handle, and deeds of violence began to be perpetrated until all thoughtful and peace-loving citizens realized that the time had come when we needed in the country not only British laws but more British power to enforce them as well.

It is noteworthy that in the same year as that in which Archdeacon Cochrane died, there came in behind him over the same road three Americans—Bob O'Lone, Jim Clewit and Bill Sammon, bringing in with them in one of their wagons a cask said to have contained 200 gallons of whiskey, which is rather suggestive of the idea, that with these spirits the teaching of the great Archdeacon was to be subjected to a fiery trial. These Americans located a little north of where the Portage Collegiate now stands, and they were usually spoken of in Portage as "The Yankee Boys;" and no doubt they were susceptible of better promptings than those which emanated from their huge hogshead of whiskey, for they went to church once at least, making in that particular about as good a record as do some other Christians. Sammon who was an ex-sergeant of the U.S. Army seemed quite a nice young man; and if, as the sequel shows, he was the first taken, perhaps it was because he was the best prepared to die.

To most of us the winter of 1865-66 passed about as quietly as other winters; but not so quiet was the spring following, when the Saukteaux visited their old rendezvous, and got scent of the

immense cask of *iskoota waboo*, fire-water; but even then perhaps no tragedy would have occurred had not *Kwini-gwa-ha-ka*, the Wolverine, a notorious rascal been amongst them, although with all that whiskey on hand awaiting consumers, and the absence of law which could be enforced, the serious row which occurred May 28th, in which knife and gun played an important part, was something by no means surprising.

The accounts of the row given by persons claiming to have been eye-witnesses are conflicting, probably because each of them lay low to ensure his not becoming a billet for a flying bullet.

The cask of liquor was kept in an out-building a few yards distant from the main building used as a dwelling house and store; and when matters looked threatening Clewitt entered the out-building for the purpose of guarding the liquor. One of the Indians professing a desire to assist was permitted to enter at the same time; but shortly after he attacked him with a knife and stabbed him, making, however, only a surface wound as the knife was deflected by a rib. In the excitement that followed Sammon and Kwingwahaka came into conflict when the latter from the outside of the out-house door which was slightly ajar thrust in the barrel of his gun, and when Sammon seized it he pulled the trigger sending a ball into his chest which came out at his side and lodged in his arm. Kwingwahaka then fled.

At this stage O'Lone appeared in the open with a repeating rifle and gave the Indians an exhibition of fighting on the jump which he had probably learned in Ireland or America, or in both. This was followed by a lull during which John McLean appeared upon the scene. And no man can say of John McLean that either in time of peace or war he was ever known to be an apathetic witness of the needs of his neighbours if they happen to be white skinned, and to his care O'Lone entrusted his wounded companions and the goods. Perhaps all things considered there was no better man than John McLean to handle the situation, for although there was no love lost between him and the Indians, the latter knew that if he could not speak to them intelligibly, he was only too liable to do so very quickly from the mouth of his gun. Fortunately the co-operation of the other settlers was

secured and no doubt it was largely due to their influence that McLean was enabled to get the Americans to Winnipeg without further molestation. During the row one Indian was fatally shot as he was in the act of climbing over a fence. Some state that he was on the way to the house bearing a message of peace; but at least one of the eye-witnesses emphatically declares that he was at the time fleeing from the house.

Poor Sammon did not get much of a fighting chance to live, for notwithstanding his serious condition he was conveyed to Red River by wagon, and died shortly after arriving there. Bob O'Loone continued in the liquor business, and no spot in Winnipeg was so often the scene of a drunken row as that occupied by the Red Saloon of which he was the proprietor. Three years later when the writer moved to St. John's he found the Red Saloon contributing very considerably to the business of the little village which has since grown to be the well-known city of Winnipeg, which, in the interests of peace does not now permit anything stronger than beer by the glass to be sold to its citizens, in a saloon which is now called—a *parlour*!

Another tragedy which happened at Portage la Prairie was as much as the other due to the baneful influence of intoxicating drink. Among the old settlers was one Charles Demarais whose oldest son Francis was a depraved and sensual man, and especially so when he was under the influence of liquor. And one day, when unfortunately for him, he had subjected himself to this handicap he frightened a woman and thereby ran foul of John McLean, Alexander his son, and Clementina his daughter who were at work in the field.

There were two French Half-breed traders camped a short distance northwest of where the McLeans were engaged in planting potatoes. And from these tents there came running towards the McLeans a woman who was being pursued by Demarais. The woman placed herself behind Clementina and cried, "Save me from that man." McLean undertook to do so. All honour to him for that. The method was however, not as commendable as the motive. There was a prolonged struggle in which hands, clubs and finally guns were used, the wind-up of

which was that Demarais received a wound from a gun in the hands of Alec McLean. Blood poisoning set in and he died shortly after. This was felt to be a matter too serious to be passed over without notice, and the authorities at Fort Garry took the trouble to investigate, with the result that Alec was summoned to stand his trial for manslaughter at the quarterly court which sat at Fort Garry on October 24th.

The accused was defended by Enos Stutsman an American lawyer who resided at Pembina as collector of customs for the American Government. McLean was acquitted. Possibly both judge and jury were influenced by the statement made by a witness during the trial that Demarais had expressed a wish that no action might be taken against McLean because he had brought upon himself the treatment he had received.

Alec McLean not many years afterwards came to a sad end. He was backing the tractor of his threshing outfit, when forgetting the position of the separator which was behind, these two parts of the outfit collided with great force pinning him between and running an iron rod through his neck in such a manner that life was extinct before he could be extricated.

Before the Demarais affair occurred there had been something in the nature of co-operation between the Councils of Assiniboia and that of Portage la Prairie. Kwinguahaka while partially intoxicated had been heard to boast of the number of settlers' horses he had killed and eaten. This led to the putting in motion of the machinery of justice in Portage la Prairie; and in regular style a warrant was issued for the arrest of the boastful Wolverine. The constables found him at Cram Creek and brought him to Portage where he was tried at the quarterly court convened in the house of William Hodgson. He was found guilty and the majority of the Councillors voted in favour of hanging him at once, from the branch of an oak which stood conveniently by. The others, among whom the writer's father was included, took the stand that such an act would be neither lawful nor expedient. All felt, however, that after pronouncing the prisoner guilty and coming so near to hanging him it would make matters worse and be too much of a farce to let him go free. In their perplexity

negotiations with the Council of Assiniboia were decided upon, and the prisoner was sent down. Everything seemed to work out smoothly. The Wolverine was incarcerated on the understanding that he was to stand his trial at the next sitting of the quarterly court. Now according to many stories told by the Indians the wolverine is the most cunning of all animals, and this particular specimen lived up to the reputation. He reached his home probably as soon as the constables who had taken him to jail reached theirs. What happened was never properly explained; but some months later a force of mounted constables was sent to recapture him, but he was not to be found; and, presumably, the majesty of the law had been sufficiently vindicated, or it may have been thought that after his narrow escape from being hanged on a tree he would be scared into doing that which was lawful and right for the rest of his days.

As has been already shown the settlers at Portage were sometimes more than busy in taking steps to ensure peace among themselves, or when it was disturbed in trying to restore it; and they were therefore only too willing to allow the Indians to settle their own quarrels as they had been wont to do of yore, so long as they kept their hands off the persons and property of the Whites. And it was because the Wolverine in his transgressions had not prudently differentiated in this respect that he found it necessary to sink into obscurity.

It was an entirely different thing when a quarrel occurred between a Sioux and a Saulteaux over the possession of a horse and the Sioux shot the Saulteaux dead and mounting a horse disappeared towards the setting sun. This deed was committed in the centre of the village of Portage la Prairie; but the Whites found it convenient to treat the matter as if outside their province, and did nothing except what charity and sanitation demanded—they buried the fallen Indian; and here again John McLean is to the front, and in a pleasing light, for he, is among those who performed this last kind act for an unfortunate neighbour.

The last instance in Portage la Prairie of the Indians handing out the extreme penalty to one of their race according to their methods, occurred in 1876. This act of justice or homicide was



ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE SCHOOL
1866—1890



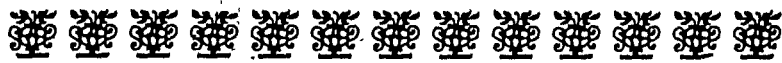
(LEFT TO RIGHT) OLD ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL, DIVINITY HALL, GYMNASIUM,
OLD SCHOOL AND DEPUTY HEAD MASTER'S HOUSE

done by the Sioux. It was claimed by them that the man Ironside whom they slew was a bad man, that he had slain several of his own race, and that he had committed many of the deeds for which the Sioux had been obliged to flee from their country. He had come down from a reserve in the west to trade his furs in Portage and to visit at the Sioux camp at the same time. He knew that his life was in danger, but was fool-hardy enough to stay on after being warned, saying that he knew how to take care of himself. I suppose he knew he was not likely to be given much chance for that, and his executioners saw to it that he was not attacked on the level. He was shot down by two or three Sioux concealed below the bank as he was quietly following the lake in the west end of the town.

By this time Red River Settlement and Portage la Prairie had been for over five years a part of the Dominion of Canada, and the Indians were gradually being made to learn that homicide of any sort would no longer be tolerated in the land, and that in getting rid of "bad men," whether Whites or Red they would have to regard the courts of law established in the land as offering the surest and safest channels in that direction. And in order that this change might be fittingly impressed upon the Sioux in connection with the slaying of Ironside, Mr. Setter now promoted to the position of Sheriff with a posse of constables went to the Sioux camp and arrested or succeeded in persuading the Sioux Doctor and those believed to be implicated with him, to accompany them to the court-house in town there to be arraigned before justices of the peace, Ogletree, Hay and McDonald.

The Doctor was a knowing Indian of remarkable dexterity, and no doubt he and the others had arranged with their friends as to what was to be the line of action at the court-house, if the proceedings there did not sufficiently coincide with their notions of justice, and when it was found that the evidence adduced would be looked at from the White man's usual angle of vision and result in—from the Sioux viewpoint—a miscarriage of justice, a shout was heard—doubtless the prearranged signal for simultaneous commotion—and there was a remarkable contempt of court then and there consisting of a rush and a scramble, mingled with all the confusion of noises which proceed so readily


and awfully from Indian throats, and although each of the accused Indians had been committed to the care of a constable who was charged to stay with his man at all hazards, it was not more than a minute after the stampede commenced when the Indians, squaws and all, were clear of the court-house and going all they were good for in the direction of the slough. Each of the constables gave a reason for not holding his man. John McLean said his one had too much grease about him, and another said he held his man until he found he was the only Indian left, and he then decided to let him have the same chance as his mates. No attempt would seem to have been made to recapture the escaped Indians; and perhaps greater severity would not have answered any better purpose. The Indians who had taken part in the slaying of Ironside made themselves scarce for a considerable time, and as for "the Doctor," it was more than a year before he again became visible in Portage la Prairie.



CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1868-1870

Riel Rebellion

FTER Mr. George had in 1865 completed the improvement in the interior of the church, as already described, he proceeded early in the following year to make equally important changes in the school. The building then in use was the second built by Archdeacon Cochrane for the benefit of the settlers. It was built in 1855, and being a quarter of a mile from the church was not convenient for Sunday School and social purposes, so it was pulled down and rebuilt about forty yards east of the church, and in the change it was made a little smaller and much neater. It was opened July 11, 1866, first by holding a short religious service in the church, after which both young and old adjourned to the school grounds where the rest of the day was spent in games and feasting.

Encouraged by the example of Mr. George and his lieutenants everyone présent seemed bent on doing his or her part to render the day one of innocent enjoyment. Mr. George was always seen at his best with children, for he seemed in his element when taking part in their games, and as everybody knows a good leader in play as well as work is of much importance. The day was ideal. There was just that pleasant warmth that one associates with feathery clouds wafted along by a gentle breeze; and not till the sun was nearing the western horizon and shadows began to lengthen eastwards, and the flowers and strawberries and grass were scenting the evening air—not till then did the day's sports draw to a close as the people gathered before the new school-house and

united in singing the National Anthem and the Doxology, after which they wended their way homeward to milk their cows and retire to rest in their buffalo robes or feather beds, possibly to dream the dreams and see the visions which we of this twentieth century have realized.

St. Mary's Church, Portage la Prairie, was organized as a parish April 9th, 1866. Unfortunately the minute books containing records of vestry proceedings have been lost; but as the writer happens to have been elected vestry-clerk, at least some of the proceedings can be given either from memory or by reference to his private journal.

At the date of organization just given the following were elected as church officials, viz: Messrs. J. J. Setter, F. Bird, John Garrioch, William Garrioch, Peter Garrioch, Thomas Anderson, Sr., John Corrigan, Peter Henderson and (as vestry clerk) A. C. Garrioch. From the eight first-named officials two were appointed church wardens, and two others delegates to the conference called by Bishop Machray to be held in St. John's school-house May 13, 1866.

After the election of the St. Mary's vestry-men Mr. George invited them to tea for the following evening, to be followed by a business meeting in his study immediately afterward. When this meeting was held the congregation had had nearly one year in which to become accustomed to Sunday offertory and the sound of many pennies dropping into the little wooden box; and now Mr. George was able to treat the representatives of his congregation to the sound of the three significant little words—"cash on hand." How much, I am at this date very sorry to be unable to say, but sufficient, at any rate, to make three creditable disbursements as was shown by as many resolutions—(1) Authorizing a small grant in aid of a widow and her children; (2) authorizing the purchase of slabs for a sidewalk between the church and parsonage, and (3) a resolution to the effect that £5 was to be sent to the bishop as the parish's first contribution to the missionary funds of the diocese.

By the year 1868 the personnel of the Portage residents had undergone a considerable change, and there was an increase in

the number of those who could appreciate means of intellectual self-improvement. Up to this time the young people who cared for reading had very few suitable books to read; and the favourite way of spending the long winter evenings was to visit one's neighbours and discuss the news, such as it was—most likely a dance which someone had given. In passing the writer would remark regarding these old-time dances that when there was no drink and they were conducted under the watchful eyes of older friends—as was usually the case—they served a useful purpose, providing innocent and pleasurable pastime in those simple pioneer days when in the light of the open fire and tallow candle, and in the light of each others eyes the young folks “tripped it off on the light fantastic toe” to their heart's content. In an all round good education there is no reason why the toes should not be included; but education should certainly assert itself more emphatically at the upper end than the lower; and Mr. George was not slow to notice when there was any opening for an organization which would apply itself more particularly to the improvement of the upper storey. Accordingly a meeting was called, and a young people's association was formed under the name of the “Young People's Mutual Improvement Society.” Among the later arrivals who gave valuable help were two Americans, a blacksmith by the name of Charles Curtis, who wrote poetry and had no end of songs comic and otherwise, and another American named Fred Burr who kept a small store. He was a well-educated man whose special talent was splendid diction; so that he came in handy in drawing up the rules of the association. Here is a sample: “No language obscene, indecorous or profane will be permitted.” He did not, however, profess to be at all devout. He had a boy of about eight going to school which at the time was taught by J. J. Setter to whom Mr. Burr said one day, “My wife asked Sam how it was that lately he wore out his pants at the knees, and his answer was, ‘It's because we pray such a lot at school’.” Our third acquisition was an Englishman, not very well educated, but very ambitious, and always ready to do his part to the best of his knowledge. Among other things which he did to help out the association he delivered a lecture on the subject of physiology, in one part of which he did not strictly observe the rule which has just been mentioned. In effect he remarked that

the different parts of the human body were evidently placed in position with due regard to use and convenience, and he asked his audience if they did not think it would have been very awkward supposing the head, if, instead of being where it was had been placed at the alternative end of the vertebrae.

The Society's first effort towards mutual improvement was in the preparation and delivery of the following programme:

*PROGRAMME RENDERED AT THE HOUSE OF
W.M. HODGSON, NOVEMBER 24, 1868*

1. "Auld Lang Syne," sung by audience. Accompaniment on the violin by A. C. Garrioch.
2. Reading, "Dunkey Sir Dunkey," William Garrioch.
3. Song.
4. Reading, "The Keader Fair," J. J. Setter.
5. Song.
6. Recitation, a selection from Shakespeare, Fred Burr.
7. Song.
8. Reading, "Hudson's Bay Fur Hunters," A. C. Garrioch.
9. Song.
10. Reading, "John Gilpin," George Garrioch.
11. Song.
12. National Anthem. Violin accompaniment by A. C. Garrioch.

The writer moved to St. John's Parish in the spring of 1869 and therefore can speak from actual knowledge only of the first winter of the Society's history.

It may be noticed that the meetings that winter were held in the house of William Hodgson, which was on or near the spot where Archdeacon Cochrane held his services previous to the erection of the church; which goes to show that at this stage, owing to the continued westward trend of settlement the church and school-house were not in a sufficiently central position for carrying on the work for which they were intended to the best advantage;

therefore, by way of overcoming this disadvantage, tentatively at least, the school-house was moved once more, after having stood about five years on its second site. And this time it was moved about one mile northwestward, the new site being on Crescent Lake, parish lot 64. There it was erected in a considerably altered shape, so that besides being suitable as a school-house and for social gatherings, it would also answer as a church in which the Sunday evening services could be held. And in order that it might have a larger seating capacity, and at the same time be more ecclesiastical in appearance there was added to it a chancel and a vestry.

"The moving of the school" is thus described by Mr. Curtis in one of his poems.

Hearken a voice from the forge
Sings loud in praise of Mr. George.
Praise for his sturdy enterprise,
His tireless zeal, and counsel wise.

This school, brief time has passed away—
Since by the river side it stood.
"We'll find for it a fitter spot,"
Said he, "and move it every jot."

With honest heart and good intent
Full many an hour and day he spent—
Asked all to help with heart and hand—
To ask with him was to command.

At willing work who could bestow,
Well spent has been our time we know,
Great trains of carts, huge beams we see,
This last hauled out by Ogletree.

The carpenters worked with a will,
With strange device and cunning skill;
For Mr. George we know he said it,
The better work the higher credit.

And why forbear to say a word
Of praise to Gaddy and to Bird,
Who freely offered us the land
On which complete our school doth stand.

With pride beheld we every log,
Our school complete, and a pedagogue
To teach with voice and main astute,
The young idea how to shoot.

Success to Hill and to the school.
May all grow wise beneath his rule,
And boys and girls who hear this rhyme,
Upward the hill of knowledge climb.

Our teacher sure will train you well,
It rests with you to make it tell;
Knowledge is power, seek to be wise,
Strive boys and girls to win the prize.

And now good friends both short and tall,
I've given you credit one and all,
But ere I get me to my forge,
Here's three times three for Mr. George.

It is difficult to understand how in a little place like Portage la Prairie, there could be going on concurrently with Mr. George's good and faithful work as a clergyman as related by myself in prose and Mr. Curtis in verse, such acts of slaughter, murder drunkenness and theft as are related in the closing pages of chapter fifteen. Yet there, as everywhere, there was only happening what has ever been going on in the world—the evil mingling with the good, and it is reasonable to believe that the good will the oftener triumph and the sooner and the more completely triumph, by having the long and the strong arm of law act as a deterrent of evil. During Mr. George's incumbency there was no such deterrent hence the prevalence of evil.

This *unlawfulness* of Portage la Prairie was getting to be an outstanding invitation to two classes of people—law-makers and law-breakers. Regarding the former it has been shown that the Council of Portage la Prairie had ceased to function even nominally two or three years before the Transfer, and as the law-breakers had been very busy during this interval, as if to prove the truth of the proverb that “where there is no *counsel* the people fall,” it appeared to one Thomas Spence, an Englishman, as a good time to gain fame as a law-maker.

This gentleman with his wife arrived in the village near Fort Garry in 1866, and lost no time in getting into the limelight there by his strong advocacy of confederation. Whatever may be said of Mr. Spence it cannot be said that he was lacking in ingenuity and enterprise. It was reasonable to believe that a visit just then from the Prince of Wales, the prospective King Edward Sixth, would have had the effect of hastening the inevitable change of Government. And with this hope Mr. Spence manoeuvred a correspondence between the Indian Chiefs of Red River and the Prince, by which it was made to appear that the chiefs spontaneously and conjointly invited his Royal Highness to visit their country and enjoy the pleasure of hunting some of their wild animals of which they had many.

The invitation was written on birch bark and was worded and painted so as to look thoroughly Indian. It was displayed for some days in a shop window before being forwarded to its destination, and competent judges were heard to declare that it looked too English to be Indian. However, in due course, through the usual official channels the chiefs were informed that the Prince had received their letter, and that he highly appreciated their kind invitation, and regretted very much being unable to accept it.

The residents of Red River having failed to offer Mr. Spence a position which would have justified his remaining more than a year in their midst, he moved up to Portage la Prairie in 1868. There he bought out Moris Lowman, who, assisted by his clerk was doing a small fur-trading business; and no sooner had he ensconced himself comfortably in his new quarters, than he set about the scheme of forming a republic of which Portage la Prairie

was to be the headquarters. But if the Council of Portage la Prairie had met with but indifferent success notwithstanding the character of the men who composed it, it is not to be expected that a man without credentials would be any more successful, even if he had the no mean advantages of self-confidence and some knowledge of law.

In bestowing upon his prospective republic the name of Manitoba, Governor Spence showed that he had a talent for nomenclature as well as other things; and evidently he thought a good name important, for his first choice was Caledonia, but his second thoughts were no doubt better when he changed Caledonia to Manitoba. And since there once existed a republic in this country under the name of Manitoba, and there now is in reality a province which goes by that name, I would say that in this particular at any rate Mr. Spence showed a fine sense of "the fitness of things;" and to have equalled him in this respect the first province carved out of the North West Territories might have been named Assiniboia, in memory of the pioneers of the country, rather than call it Manitoba as if to perpetuate the memory of Governor Spence and his extinct republic. A sense of humour is all very well, but not when carried quite so far.

In his efforts at forming a republic Mr. Spence sought the approval of both the Imperial and Canadian Governments. He wrote first to the Governor General of Canada, and after waiting eight months without receiving a reply he wrote next to Lord Buckingham, Imperial Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The following is an extract from this letter: "Early in January last, at a public meeting of settlers who numbered over four hundred, it was unanimously agreed to at once proceed to the election and construction of a government, which has accordingly been carried out; a revenue imposed, public buildings commenced, to carry out the laws, provisions made for Indian treaties, the construction of roads and other public works, tending to promote the interests and welfare of the people."

This letter was dated February 19, 1868; the answer thereto was dated at Downing Street, May 30, 1868, and would reach Mr. Spence about the middle of August. It read in part as follows:

"Sir: I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. . . . In these communications you explain that measures have been taken for creating a so-called self-supporting government in Manitoba, within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. The people of Manitoba are probably not aware that the creation of a separate government in the manner set forth in these papers, has no force in law, and that they have no authority to authorize or create a government, or even to set up municipal institutions properly so-called) for themselves, without reference to the Hudson's Bay Company or the Crown. . . . As it is inferred that the intention is to exercise jurisdiction over offenders in criminal cases, to level taxes compulsorily, and to attempt to put in force other powers which can only be exercised by a properly constituted government, I desire to warn you that you and your co-agitators are acting illegally in this matter, and that by the course you are adopting you are incurring grave responsibilities."

The foregoing was hardly needed to convince Mr. Spence that his *coup d'état* had been a dead failure, for soon as he had attempted to level a tax on the goods brought to the Portage by the Hudson's Bay Company, and later to fine a Scotsman named McPherson for treasonable language against the republic, he realized then that he was indeed "incurring grave responsibilities." But what a contrast! In 1853 the Hudson's Bay Governour forbids Archdeacon Cochrane to commence a settlement in Portage la Prairie, and in 1868 the forbidden settlement has become a republic whose Governour demands tribute of the Hudson's Bay Company.

After having for a twelve-month fondly built up—mostly on paper—the *Republic of Manitoba*—Mr. Spence woke up one fine summer morning to the painful fact that there was little of it left excepting himself, and with that conviction came the decision that he also would leave at the first convenient opportunity; and fortunately just then the poetical blacksmith, Mr. Curtis, was looking for a site for his forge, and finding that the ex-Governour was winding up his republic he made a bid for his dwelling house. This he gladly accepted on the following understanding with the previous owner, Mr. Maurice Lowman, that Mr. Curtis pay the balance still due the said Mr. Lowman by ex-Governour Spence, for which Mr. Lowman agreed to credit Mr. Curtis with what

Mr. Spence had already paid to the said Mr. Lowman, and in return for this credit the said Charles Curtis undertook to transport the said ex-Governour Spence, his family and his goods to the Salt Springs on Lake Manitoba. Thus ended the Republic of Manitoba, a little previous to the establishment of the Province of Manitoba.

Although both these important events occurred during the pastorate of Rev. Henry George which has been the main subject in mind in this and the preceding chapter, there has been no occasion to mention his name in connection with either, as the ethics of the clerical calling demand that a clergyman's influence in politics should be somewhat in the nature of a "small still voice"—not so much heard as felt; and Mr. George, to the credit of the cloth and himself be it said, was very circumspect.

The progress made by St. Mary's Church during his pastorate was not striking for it was of the kind that lies more *under* than on the surface, and which therefore does not "show off" in statistics, yet had not the records been lost, no doubt a tabulated statement would have shown that with due allowance for conditions prevailing at the time, his sixteen years pastorate at Portage la Prairie had been attended with success.

The resignation of Archdeacon Cochrane seemed to be the signal to many of the original members of St. Mary's congregation to get up and trek westward, and not many of the incoming settlers were Anglicans. Very few, at any rate, located near enough to become members of St. Mary's Church. The sacred calling of the Christian ministry, although the most joyous of all, can also become a very anxious one. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Mr. George had become discouraged in his work, and the only reason known to the writer why someone might be disposed to speculate over such a question is the remarkable fact that his last sermon delivered only a few days before his death was based on Psalm LV, 6: "And I said, O that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest." Having read the sermon over carefully, I judge that the purpose therein was to encourage his hearers to seek more and more the rest of God which is to be found in service here below and is a foretaste of the eternal

rest which is to come. The closing paragraph is particularly striking.

In it he aptly applied a figure to illustrate the nature of a Christian's career. The comparison was made to travellers who toiled up the pass of Glencoe in Scotland, to find on the hill-top a huge stone on which were engraved the words, "Rest and be thankful." "These words," he said, "have suggested to many a thoughtful man the journey of life, through this vale of tears—all up-hill work—but that when heaven is gained—when the haven of rest, peace and safety is secured, then we may rest and be thankful. We shall look back upon all the way that we have come and see that mercy and truth hath followed us all the days of our life. We shall come into the enjoyment of God's presence and of Christ's company, and sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and with all the children of God in the Kingdom of rest, and it shall seem to us that the toils of the journey, and the burdens and weight of life now had never been—we shall realize all our desires—we shall soar with wings like doves into the realm of light and peace and quietude—and far removed from the windy storm and tempest into the presence and keeping of Christ."

When apparently still in robust health Mr. George suffered an apoplectic seizure, and although he lived for a week afterwards he never regained consciousness. His body rests in the cemetery where once stood the church in connection with which for sixteen years he proclaimed the gospel message by word and deed.

RED RIVER REBELLION

When this trouble occurred the writer had reached the age of manhood and moved down to St. John's Parish, and after boarding there for a few months, moved a little further, and crossing over to East Kildonan, boarded there with Mr. Donald Matheson. I thus became associated with two parishes whose stand in relation to Riel and his Metis followers was that of strict neutrality; and as a matter of circumspection had to be mine also. Besides this, Archdeacon McLean was warden of St. John's College and Rector of St. John's Parish, so that I was amenable to him both as a student and a teacher. And even had I been disposed to join

those who favoured interference I felt it to be too discouraging a business after Riel had contrived to get possession of Fort Garry.

I am now about to give in shortened form the equivalent of an account written nine years ago with respect to the Transfer, and I do so with the same determination as at that time—to allow no word to escape my pen which would be unfair, inconsiderate or misleading; but I shall not make the vain attempt to escape being termed a partisan by all whose opinions don't happen to coincide with my own. All that I may reasonably hope for is, that every reader will try as hard to be a fair-minded reader as I shall try to be a fair-minded writer; and if this be done I shall be satisfied.

There can be no question about this: the wise way of preventing trouble is to "nip it in the bud," or even earlier than that if possible. And there be some who are of the opinion that the friction of races which has caused trouble in this country might not so often have passed the budding stage had there been no connubial contact between Whites and Indians. One cannot deny that, any more than that Tom Jones and Mary Smith might have escaped a lot of trouble had they never married; but who can say that had they taken the opposite course they might not have had ten times as much trouble? There's the rub. And do not reason and experience teach that when two races produce a third, that third will own and honour both, *particularly if they have been rightly trained*, or to express it in one word, if they have been *enlightened*. And surely an enlightened race should realize that they are under obligation to see to it that their progeny are enlightened, both in the intellectual as well as the spiritual sense. For although an illiterate race may become spiritually enlightened, they are pitifully liable to bring disaster upon themselves and others because of their illiteracy. The fearful troubles which occurred in the United States of America between the Whites and Indians would have been avoided had the Whites been unselfish and the Indians educated. And let it be said without any boastfulness that the comparative lack of like troubles between these races who have occupied the country north of the forty-ninth parallel, was largely due to a wiser system which went far to reprove and restrain selfishness in the Whites and to educate and

enlighten the Indians. And it can be said—I say so advisedly—that just in so far as the *A-pih-tow-oo-koo-si-sa-nuk*, half sons (half-castes) were educated just so far they were a safeguard to the peace of the country; that on the other hand, just to the extent that the half sons were left as illiterate as most of the Indians, to that extent exactly they became a menace to the welfare of the country.

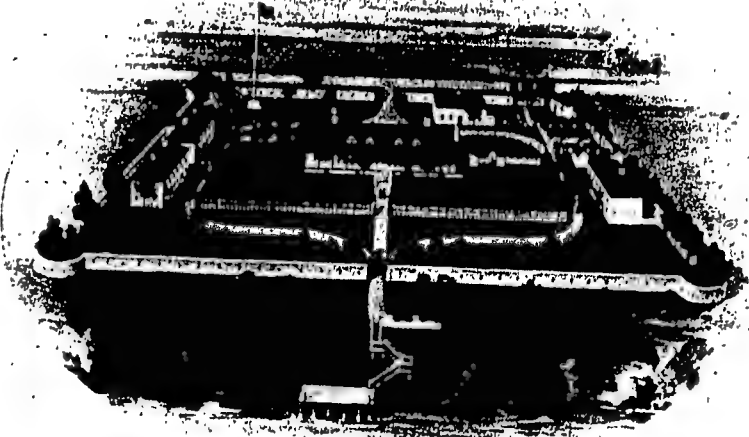
While, however, we are allocating the blame for the troubles incident to the Transfer to the different parties to whom a share is justly due, we cannot very easily escape the conclusion that a respectable excuse had been provided for a Red River rebellion; and when one considers that the Metis were comparatively speaking an uneducated class one need not wonder that the resentment they felt over the changes being imposed upon them took the pernicious form of rebellion.

It would seem that the amalgamated Hudson's Bay Company never succeeded in suppressing that French-Canadian element which previous to coalition had constituted a national antagonism between it and the North-West Company. The "New Nation" was the offspring of Frenchmen to whose chivalrous and cosmopolitan dispositions matrimony with the bright-eyed smiling maidens of the forest and prairies was quite in order. And it was not so much this union in itself which was objectionable as the continuance of an unsettled mode of living, resulting in a progeny whose fate was illiteracy and consequent liability to exploitation by designing knaves, or to be the sport of untoward circumstances. The writer has known some Metis who could not speak any other language than that of the Indian mother. And it is beyond dispute that of the hundreds of Metis who supported Riel at Fort Garry the number who could either read or write was a most insignificant minority, and as credulity is an inevitable accompaniment of ignorance, it can easily be understood that the badly distorted accounts of the Canadian Government of that day which were circulated were accepted by the Metis as true. And, unfortunately, when those who were supposed to know gave out the opinion that the typical English-speaking Canadian was a rough, overbearing and unfriendly sort of fellow, the Metis, from what they saw when they first made his acquaintance, had reason to believe that they

had been correctly informed. That acquaintance was made on the Dawson route where a number of them were employed by the Government partly by way of relief as the buffalo by this time were fast approaching extinction. And what the Metis saw on the Dawson route where they worked side by side with Canadians was anything but reassuring. For instance they saw some of them dump Charles Mair into a swamp, because as Government book-keeper he refused to credit them with time which on this particular occasion they had spent to suit themselves. Logically they would reason this out something after this manner: If they treat a man like that whose language is their own; how are they likely to treat us seeing they and we do not understand each other? And they began to think that in this and some other respects they were getting a practical demonstration—they were not paid in cash, and the order for goods which they had to accept might be on a store with which they did not wish to deal. Worst of all was the hurry with which the Dominion Survey was begun, which to the Metis looked like robbery, when some of those engaged in the survey staked out claims in districts which the former regarded as belonging to them. Among contributing causes of discontent was an American element, not that of the republic itself, for to its credit be it said its attitude was one of dignified and neighbourly noninterference, but that of American citizens who lived and traded with the Metis and others on both sides of the boundary; and in addition to these an anti-British element which cherished the sentiment that Garry, as they called it, was the lawful and natural prey of the American eagle.

Now, by way of clarifying the atmosphere, and getting into proper perspective the various parties who according to British ethics had a right to be consulted on the matter of the Transfer, let us just mention these parties in the order of their importance and their interest in the question, combined; (1) the Imperial Government; (2) the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company; (3) the inhabitants of Rupert's Land, particularly Red River Settlement (4) the Canadian Government.

No. 1 was the guardian and court of appeal to the other three, and that it did not repudiate its responsibility was made evident when on three different occasions British troops were stationed at



LOWER FORT GARRY



LOUIS RIEL

Red River. And it may well be asked why a small body of troops were not stationed in the Settlement until the Transfer had actually taken place, as it was well known that there were very strong divergent views in Canada regarding certain preliminaries to the inclusion of the North West Territories in the confederation. Had a small military force been quietly sent to Red River at the time when negotiations were fairly under way, there would have been no rebellion. And as far as the writer has been able to discover, the Imperial Government is to be exonerated from all blame for not having provided such a force. Mr. Isaac Cowie in his book, "The Company of Adventurers," page 396, writes as follows:

"I have been told on good authority that the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company in London alleged, after Governor McTavish's death that he had been so confident of his personal influence and that of his counsellors, including Bishop Tache and Machray and other highly representative men from different classes of settlers, that when a detachment of troops was offered to be stationed at Fort Garry, he refused them, saying he was quite able to complete the Transfer peacefully without outside aid. Probably the secretary's information was true as far as it went, for had common sense and a sense of justice actuated the Company and Canada at the time, instead of troops being required to inaugurate the transfer of the Government of the country to Canada, the inhabitants generally would have hailed the change with joy."

No. 2, The Hudson's Bay Company, had its own bone of contention, viz: a discrimination made by the Old Country shareholders in their own favour which was resented by the wintering partners.

Mr. Cowie as a Hudson's Bay Company officer of the last-named section, in giving his opinion as above as to the kind of sense by which the Company had been actuated, if not including the Company as a whole, would no doubt be intended to apply to the English shareholders. And it may be as well to keep in mind—although it may be no more than an unfortunate coincidence—that it was in the same autumn that Riel and the Metis made

their unresisted entrance into Fort Garry, that Governour McTavish returned from England whither he had gone to represent to the English stockholders the interests of the wintering partners, and that his efforts had not met with success.

No. 3: The Inhabitants of Rupert's Land. Here again as in No. 2, under normal conditions, things might look like "brethren dwelling together in unity;" but when put to the test painful differences soon became manifest. In this case there were differences of race and creed. And although there might be agreement in the opinion that a less partial and more powerful Government was desirable than that provided by the Council of Assiniboia, it did not follow that they would all give the assent conveyed by silence while being taken over as harmless creatures by the Canadian Government, in which certain features characteristic of Ontario were liable to be objectionably prominent.

The unswerving loyalty of the Province of Quebec to British rule in Canada is a fine tribute of respect and confidence in the fairness and beneficence of that rule, and no doubt every true Britisher has appreciated at its real worth the valuable contribution which the French have made towards a stable and equitable Government equally beneficial to both; and considering the circumstances under which this national partnership came about, it might be said that the chivalry and magnanimity of the British have been on trial ever since; and that it becomes the British to study the susceptibilities of the French more assiduously than it becomes the latter to consult those of the British.

We are wont to think that our troubles are greatly aggravated by the magnifying of our differences; but I wonder if it would not be wiser to regard the pernicious consequences from which we suffer as resulting just as much from having minified our differences. And it was an instance of minifying the differences between the English and French, when the Government at Ottawa, largely influenced by an Ontario element became unduly optimistic over the conviction that it had a pearl of great price in Red River, and hastily appointed a Governour, one Mr. McDougal to take charge of it, without first having taken the trouble to find out, if only as a matter of courtesy, what the representatively large French

portion of the inhabitants had to say about it. In consequence of this oversight, when Mr. McDougall arrived at Pembina, he discovered that something which the powers at Ottawa had overlooked was not going to be overlooked by the Metis, who by a deputation there presented him their written mandate forbidding his entrance into the North-West Territories "*sans une permission speciale de ce comite.*"

No. 4: The Canadian Government with reference to the Transfer was the one party in the category of four which has been given, which could have most fittingly assumed the position of an outside party, in that it had no rights as yet, and would have none until the negotiations which were underway had been brought to a successful consummation. There might, however, have been no serious consequences following its premature action while negotiations were still in progress, had it not been for the omission or failure of No. 1 and the misunderstanding and contentions of No. 2, which led to a policy which someone called one of "masterly inaction," and which perhaps might almost as fittingly be called one of aggravating ambiguity. Alas! that it should ever be so—that our seemingly little failures and misunderstandings should eventuate in a huge pile of mischief to others who have the misfortune to be sailing in the same boat as ourselves.

It was unfortunate that at the time the negotiations were nearing the most critical stage, Bishop Tache of St. Boniface was absent from the Settlement; for by virtue of his office he was with the Metis, the man of the hour—the man who could say to them, do this, and they would do it, and who, besides this, was a man whose engaging personality brought him into general favour. He was just the man who could at least supply a palliative for the mistakes of others. But he could not be in two places at the same time, and it seems that it was necessary that he should be in Rome for the Ecumenical Council called for December 8, 1869, when every *savant* of the church who could possibly be present was to be there to vote once again on the question as to whether the Bishop of Rome speaking *ex cathedra*, from the chair, was to be regarded as infallible. I do not know that the vote which was very decidedly in the affirmative helped the people of St. Boniface very much, but I have not the slightest doubt that its estimable

prelate might have helped his own special sphere of practical service much more had he been at home instead of Rome, so that he would have been on the right spot at the right time to vote against the infallibility of Louis Riel; but, of course, "the greater good to the greater number is a reasonable law, both human and divine."



CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

1870

The Provisional Government

CONNECTED with the actions of the Metis in preventing Mr. McDougall from entering the North-West Territories, is the name of the Roman Catholic priest, Pere Richot, in whose house it was that the meeting was held in which the National Committee was organized, with John Bruce as president and Louis Riel as secretary. It was also opposite the house of this priest that a slight barricade was placed across the road and guarded by two or three men.

The effectiveness of these insignificant looking obstructive objects was very soon experienced by Governour McDougall's aide de camp, Captain Cameron, who arrived there one day on his way to Fort Garry, no doubt to obtain reliable information as to the actual situation. The comical incident which then took place became a laughable subject of mimicry with the Metis and others for some time afterwards. Captain Cameron is described as using a monocle which he adjusted when within a few feet of the barricade, after which he authoritatively drawled out the command—"Remove that blawsted fence!" Instead of complying one of the men took hold of his horse by the bridle, and conducted the traveller to the abode of the Curè, where he accepted hospitality before journeying back to his superior at Pembina. And so it must be admitted that in a measure Pere Richot lived up to the injunction—"If thine enemy hunger, feed him."

On the 23rd October, over a week before the above incident occurred a Mr. Hydman made an affidavit before Chief Factor

Dr. Cowan, who was a justice of the peace and the officer in charge at Fort Garry. In his affidavit Mr. Walter Hydman gave Dr. Cowan the information that the French were holding meetings at Scratching River, and that there was being fomented in that quarter a spirit of unrest liable to lead to an uprising to protest against the country being sold without its owners—themselves, and its other inhabitants—having first been consulted. This fact or report (whatever it may be) was supported by another to the effect that two officials of the constabulary force, Messrs. Mulligan and Powers, knowing what was going on at Scratching River, offered to secure a sufficient number of men to hold Fort Garry so as to prevent its possible capture by the Metis.

The two foregoing allegations appear to be regarded as correct by the chroniclers of events of that time, who also appear to find in them contributory causes for surprise and even unfavourable comment at the belated "open-gate policy" of the Hudson's Bay Company. The only history known to the writer in which a contrary view is taken is in that of Mr. Alexander Begg; and this writer seems somewhat to beg the question in his view of the inexplicable indifference on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, at this particular juncture, in regard to the fort being entered and tentatively held by the Metis. He contends that the prevailing opinion with respect to the Hydman affidavit is all wrong in that it contained no hint of a Metis uprising or of any intention to seize Fort Garry; and that the offer made by Messrs. Mulligan and Powers was not made until after Riel and his followers were securely ensconced in Fort Garry. Mr. Begg was certainly in a splendid position to get his facts correctly, but in an extremely bad position for giving out an unbiased opinion; for he was business partner of Mr. A. G. Bannatyne in a general store which catered to the Metis as well as others, and Mr. Bannatyne and Governor McTavish were married to sisters, and the latter being at this time in very poor health, Mr. Bannatyne from the very start of the trouble acted as go-between in negotiations between Mr. McTavish and the Metis.

The statement contained in Mr. Hydman's affidavit was very soon confirmed by a remarkable document in French purporting to be what we might call the fiat of the Metis to the Canadian

Government, and what, at any rate, was a decision of the authors thereof who called themselves the National Committee of the Metis. This document was drawn up at the house of John Bruce, who signed it as president. In the document itself it was dated at St. Norbert, Red River, the 21st October, 1869.

It will be noted that it was only two days later that Mr Hydman made his affidavit, and that it was not till a week later that it was delivered to Mr. McDougall, which gave the Hudson's Bay Company ample time to decide on the best course to be pursued; but the Company did not act as though in the least bit excited over the fine consignment of bonded goods it was supposed to accept. True Mr. McDougall's furniture may have arrived at Fort Garry all-right enough; but when the owner himself came along and was once more in the act of treading on British soil, having arrived at Pembina on October 30th, he was met by a deputation of the Metis who handed him the document which I have taken the liberty of designating the fiat of the Metis, which read as follows:

"A Monsieur W. McDougall.

Monsieur: Le Comite National des Metis de la Riviere Rouge intima Monsieur W. McDougall l'ordre ne na pas entrer sur le territoire du nord-ouest, sans une permission speciale de ce Comite.

Per ordre du President,

John Bruce,

Louis Riel,

Secretary."

Translation: "To Mr. McDougall.

Sir: The National Committee of the Metis of the Red River, order Mr. McDougall not to enter the territory of the North-West without the special permission of the Committee.

By order of the President,

John Bruce,

Louis Riel,

Secretary."

On the 2nd of November Louis Riel with one hundred Metis marched along the highway from La-Riviere Salle to Fort Garry, and finding the gates open marched in and proceeded to billet

himself in such of the buildings as he considered suitable to his purpose; or, to quote from Rev. R. G. McBeth's history: "He proceeded to make himself comfortable by utilizing the furniture intended for Governour McDougall."

It is regrettable that the doings of Riel and his confederates in connection with the Transfer cannot be as correctly designated by some less harsh word than *Rebellion*. Gladly, no doubt, would a more gentle word have been used had their opposition been only against a not-yet established Government, and their offences the non-criminal acts of turning back from Pembina a not-yet Governour, and staging comedies such as that of the Scratching River barricade, but when from these escapades they proceeded to the seizure of the headquarters of the established Government, which government they then and there treated as defunct, setting up what they called a "Provisional Government," which in the course of four months after the seizure of Fort Garry took upon itself to court-martial and execute one Thomas Scott for resisting its authority—with a record such as this, the word rebellion, applied to the movement from beginning to end is perfectly correct.

After Riel had upset the plans of three governments he might well have decided that if his own little creation—the Provisional Government—was to amount to anything it would be necessary for it to demonstrate its effectiveness in the course of the next six months, a period during which the militant Metis could use Fort Garry as barracks or snuggery, drawing meanwhile upon the ample supplies of pemmican and other provisions belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, with not the slightest danger of being ejected by troops from the East until the North-West was released from the icy grasp of winter.

Riel's next move was a tactful and commendable one, and only good results would have ensued, had not "his vaulting ambition overleaped itself," on many occasions causing him to arrogate to himself the role of autocrat and dictator.

He realized that in the steps thus far taken in opposition to the Canadian Government he was supported by only a half section of the population of the Red River, and *that* half the less competent to size up individually the merits of the questions in dispute.

Obviously, therefore, his plans would have more than a double chance of success if they were backed up by the English-speaking section of the Red River inhabitants, an augmentation of support which might reasonably be counted upon, so long as nothing was done in defiance of the authority of the Imperial Government.

At this time the Council of Assiniboia was non-existent, or at least inoperative in so far as the recent actions of Riel had made it so; but now he was evidently anxious to bring about its re-vitalization, in order, no doubt, that "*le Comité National Des Metis de la Riviere Rouge*" might share in its legislative activities, and so shape them that the rights of the Red River inhabitants would be ensured against encroachments by Eastern Canada.

As may be supposed, after the exhibition of his character which Riel had furnished the English and the Scottish settlers saw that there was no telling to what lengths the man might go if he was not aided in dealing with the desperate situation which he had created, so they wisely tolerated his protestations to the effect that in the course he was pursuing he was endeavouring to safeguard the rights and privileges of all the people of the country, an undertaking much more likely to be successful if all the people were united.

With Riel in possession of the fort and the means of conflict it contained, the policy of the English was so far as self-respect would allow, to deprive him of any reasonable excuse for using the superior means of conflict which his daring had secured. Besides, if they were not enamoured with Riel's methods of becoming seized of what he and his followers considered desirable for the furtherance of their cause, they were not much more so with those of the Canadian Government when taking possession of the North-West Territories. And so, banking largely on their ability to enlighten their Metis friends and to restrain their leader, they consented to meet them at a convention which was to be announced by Riel. In this co-operation it was to be expected that there would be combined the prestige and experience of the Council of Assiniboia with the incisiveness of the *Comité National*.

This convention Riel announced by proclamation for Thursday, November 16th. In the preamble he said: "The invaders of our

rights being now expelled," and he ended with the statement that the convention was called "to consider the present political state of this country and to adopt such measures as may be best fitted for the future welfare of the same."

The following were the delegates to Riel's first convention:

English Members

Fort Garry—H. F. Kenny, H. F. O'Lone.

Kildorian—James Ross.

St. John's—Maurice Lowman.

St. Paul's—Dr. Bird.

St. Andrew's—Donald Gunn.

St. Clement's—Thomas Bunn.

St. Peter's—Henry Prince.

St. James—Robert Tait.

St. Ann's, Poplar Point—George Gunn.

Headingly—William Tait.

French Members

St. Francois Xavier—Francois Dauphinas, Pierre Poitras, Pierre Lavillier.

St. Boniface—W. B. O'Donohue.

St. Vital—Andre Beauchomin, Pierre Paranteau.

St. Norbert—Baptiste Lowron, Louis Lacarte.

St. Ann's—Charles Nolin, Jean Baptiste Perrault.

John Bruce, President; Louis Riel, Secretary.

When the delegates assembled on the appointed day they found the court-house guarded by one hundred and fifty armed Metis, a guard of honour a little too impressive for at least one of the loyal delegates. When Maurice Lowman approached the place in his cariole and beheld this war-like display he turned about and returned whence he came.

As may be supposed the English-speaking inhabitants of the settlement were by this time beginning to indulge in surmising as to the attitude of the authorities in Fort Garry towards their military guests who had invited themselves in and were making themselves very much at home; and this convention gave

Governour McTavish just the opportunity needed for explaining to all whom it might concern just what the relations were between the intruding Metis and the residents of Fort Garry. This information was contained in a proclamation which was read at the convention. In it he recounted Riel's various acts of pillage and infringement of the rights of others, mentioning among other things that the Metis had "in numbers varying from sixty to one hundred and twenty billeted themselves upon the establishment."

The reading of this counter-proclamation and the ebullitions of Riel which followed did not help clarify the atmosphere with regard to the *status quo*, and all that appears to have been done at this meeting was to decide that until more light was obtained upon this point the convention might as well adjourn, which it accordingly did. To obtain this fuller light and settle the knotty point as to who, from now on, was to be the ruler in Red River Settlement, Riel visited Governour McTavish, now bed-ridden, and denounced his action in issuing such a proclamation as reprehensible, and he went so far as to threaten that he would imprison him and the other Hudson's Bay Company officers of the fort for what he had done.

As had been arranged the delegates were re-convened at the court-house on the 22nd November. At this meeting Riel at once made it clear by his words, as he had already done by his actions, that the local Hudson's Bay Company Governour was to be regarded as deposed, and the rule of the Company in Red River Settlement as having come to an end. He declared that such a view was justified because of the manner in which negotiations looking to the Transfer of the country had been carried out without any regard to the rights of thousands of people who had made their homes therein. The right time to be assured as to these rights was before and not after confederation, and obviously such assurance was more likely to be obtained if asked for unanimously instead of only by a section of the people. Then came his dictum which was neither palatable nor logical—they were more likely to be treated with respect at Ottawa if they formed themselves into a provisional government. The reply to this from the English delegates was that without special instruction from their constituents they would not enter into the discussion of such a

question; and when one of them asked whether it might not be better, before giving further consideration to such a serious step, to allow Mr. McDougall to enter the country and explain what the Canadian Government could be depended upon doing for the benefit of the inhabitants, Riel sprang to his feet and excitedly declared that such a thing would never be permitted. However, before the meeting was over the same arguments of the English delegates expressed in a more dignified manner began to take effect upon the better informed of Riel's supporters who were evidently in favour of the course recommended by the English, that of continuing to regard the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company as the government in power until such time as the Imperial Government established another in its place. The suggestion that in the meantime a deputation might be sent to confer with McDougall at Pembina, also met with favourable comment from some of the French delegates; but all this was only a rift in the clouds; and when the convention reassembled nine days later, December 1st, the English delegates found the French once more solidly backing Riel: the thought-of-a conference at Pembina with "the invader of our rights" could not be entertained any more; but the intention of forming a provisional government was now to be regarded as the really important question which demanded the attention of the delegates.

To this end the support of the English was to be obtained if possible; and the tangible proof that such support had been secured was to be furnished by a bill of rights passed by both the English and French delegates. And by skilful manoeuvring such a bill was passed on December 1st, although by an extremely slim majority.

BILL OF RIGHTS

1. The right to elect our own Legislature.
2. The Legislature to have right to pass all laws, local to the Territory, over the veto of the Executive by a two-thirds vote.
3. No act of the Dominion Parliament (local to this Territory) to be binding on the people until sanctioned by their representative.

4. All sheriffs, magistrates, etc., etc., to be elected by the people—a free homestead and pre-emption law.
5. A portion of the public lands to be appropriated to the benefit of schools, the building of the roads, bridges and parish buildings.
6. A guarantee to connect Winnipeg by rail with the nearest line of railroad—the land grant for such road or roads to be subject to the Legislature of the Territory.
7. For four years the public expenses of the Territory, civil, military and municipal to be paid out of the Dominion Treasury.
8. The military to be composed out of the people now existing in the Territory.
9. The French and English languages to be common in the Legislature and Council, and all public documents and acts of the Legislature to be published in both languages.
10. That the judge of the Superior Court speak both French and English.
11. Treaties to be concluded and ratified between the Government and several tribes of the Indians of this Territory, calculated to insure peace in the future.
12. That all privileges, customs and usages existing at the time of the Transfer be respected.
13. That these rights be guaranteed by Mr. McDougall before he be admitted into this Territory.
14. If he have not the power himself to grant them, he must get an act of Parliament passed expressly securing us the rights, and until such act be obtained he must stay outside the Territory.
15. That we have full and fair representation in the Dominion Parliament.

When Riel at this stage spoke of a Provisional Government to be formed, his hearers well knew that this was a mere perversion

of words, and that such a government had already been formed with Louis Riel as dictator; and he had certainly quite satisfied his French supporters that he and they were the only government at the time occupied on the job, and likely to stay with it indefinitely—probably, as it was a *provisional government*,—as long as there was a good supply of Hudson's Bay Company provisions in sight.*

No doubt in the minds of Riel and his compatriots this provisional government dated as far back as the day that Governour McDougall was halted at Pembina, yet they evidently felt, as they well might, that as they were but a section of the inhabitants they were the more likely some day to be called upon to give an explanation for the excessive executive ability displayed on the forenamed occasion by "Le Comite National des Metis." Well therefore might they be anxious to lose as little time as possible in persuading the English to join them, by which their government would secure at least one hundred per cent prestige; and it was to this end as before related the English delegates on November 22nd were asked to cast in their lot with the usurping government, but as stated, they refused, and persevered in their attitude of self-respecting aloofness until February 9, 1870, by which date circumstances had so changed as to present an opening—a sort of "path of glory which would lead to the grave," the grave of the *Provisional Government*, instead of which there would be established a constitutional and permanent one. The circumstances leading up to a condition which made such a course admissible and expedient will now be briefly described.

When Mr. McDougall on October 31st, after his arrival at Pembina, wrote the authorities at Ottawa of his failure to reach Fort Garry owing to the uprising of the Metis, the Imperial Government was at once cabled to that effect, whereupon negotiations were for the time being called off, but Mr. McDougall not being aware of this took it for granted that the Transfer would go into effect as last agreed upon on December 1st, so he waited

*Provisions by some old-timers mispronounced *pervections*, was the name commonly applied to edibles; but more particularly to those obtained by the buffalo hunters and put up in durable form such as pemmican, dried meat and grease.

till that date and then issued a royal proclamation calling upon all loyal subjects to rally to his support. In addition to this he issued a second proclamation in which he commissioned Col. Dennis to be his lieutenant and conservator of the peace, and to recruit and arm a force of loyal citizens sufficient to put down any opposition which might be offered to the occupation of the country by the Canadian authorities.

Under the circumstances a proclamation of one kind or another might have been in order; for instance one in which the aim would be the enlightenment of the uninformed and misinformed; but one such as that sent Col. Dennis was utterly unjustifiable. And likely it was only because a Gracious Power counteracted a human error, that Mr. McDougall's proclamation did not lead to civil war in Red River Settlement. And when one takes into account Riel's insulting pretensions and insane lust for power, one may well believe that the higher power referred to gave the mastery to the loyalists by enabling them to be masters of themselves. With commendable judgment the English decided that it would not be to their advantage to fight for Canada for yet a while, and when Col. Dennis found out that this was their decision he acted with as good judgment as they, and wrote to the sixty Canadians who were quartered at Dr. Schultz' establishment, who by that time had been besieged there by the Metis for three days, to move down if possible to the Kildonan school-house, and on no account to be the first to provoke a conflict. After receiving this communication they stayed on three days longer; but being short of both wood and water, they decided that on the next day they would endeavour to cut their way out.

On the morning of that day they were visited by a deputation from the fort, bearing a flag of truce. The deputation consisted of A. G. B. Bannatyne, Lapine and Moran. They brought a message from Riel, promising that if they marched up to the fort and delivered up their arms they would be set at liberty. The besieged were not deceived as to Riel's poorly disguised intentions, so this seventh day of siege was spent in the vain endeavour by Dr. Schultz to obtain reasonable terms of surrender. And when the evening shades were descending upon the makings of the future city of Winnipeg, Riel bore down upon the Canadian house of

refuge accompanied by about three hundred Metis and sent in to the Doctor and his companions the following mandate:

"Communication received this seventh day of December, 1869. Dr. Schultz and his companions are hereby ordered to give up their arms and surrender themselves. Their lives will be spared should they comply. In case of refusal all the English Half-breeds and other natives, women and children, are at liberty to depart unmolested.

"Fort Garry, 7th December, 1869: The surrender will be accepted at or fifteen minutes after the order."

The good sense which actuated the English and the conservator of the peace, Col. Dennis, now found its counterpart in the surrender of Dr. Schultz and his companions. And when these brave defenders of the honour of Ontario laid down their arms, whatever their feelings might have been, we may be sure that they were much more influenced by the considerations of justice and mercy than were Louis Riel and his abettors; and judging from the action of many of these men when their period of enforced inaction was over, they most likely spent a good portion of that time in resolves which boded no good for Louis Riel.

Of all the processions which have moved along Main Street, perhaps the most extraordinary was that which in the first hour of night, less than three weeks before the Christmas of 1869 wended its way from Dr. Schultz house to Fort Garry. Mrs. Schultz being ill she was placed in a sleigh and the Doctor then got between the shafts and drew her to the fort, a distance of eight hundred yards, not a difficult undertaking for him, however, as he was some inches over six feet in height, of magnificent physique and correspondingly muscular, while his wife, compared to the average woman, was small, but with a bigness of soul which makes one party in the marriage contract a very light burden to the other.

The writer is able to state from observation that the Doctor was a man of drawing power, having a little more than a year previous to the event just recorded seen him at the railway station at St. Cloud when his carts were being loaded up for the return to Red River Settlement. And when one loaded with nine hundred

pounds of freight had to be moved away from the platform to make room for the next, after a sturdy-looking freighter had tugged at it in vain in an attempt to do this, the Doctor took his place between the shafts, and seemingly with perfect ease drew it away, saying when he had done so, "You see, Tom, I am the better ox."

But to return to the occasion when the Doctor drew a lighter load (as we may suppose) in heavier spirits; it so happened that the writer was again not far away. I had been visiting at Point Douglas and was starting on my return to St. John's when I heard the report of firing in the direction of Fort Garry, and looking in that direction saw the flashes of light which accompanied the discharge of firearms; but not until next morning was it generally known that this was a *feu de joie* let off at the gate of Fort Garry after Doctor Schultz and his companions had been placed in durance vile, there to await Riel's pleasure or the next turn in the wheel of fortune.

Three days after this event, December 10th, Riel hoisted the flag of the Provisional Government. It was a combination of the *fleur de lis* and shamrock on a white ground. About this time, too, it was given out that John Bruce was ill, and that he had retired from the presidency to be succeeded by Riel. On the 18th December Mr. McDougall left Pembina on his return to Ottawa, after being informed by Col. Dennis of his failure at recruiting.

Up to this point the English and Scottish inhabitants thought that Riel and his confederates were not likely to do anything much worse than spend a comfortable winter in Fort Garry at the expense of the Hudson's Bay Company; but when Riel went so far as to capture some sixty Canadians and to billet them indefinitely as his prisoners at the expense of the aforesaid Company; they were not surprised when he flaunted his rebellious and independent tendencies by the hoisting of a decidedly un-British flag which was often referred to as "*that Fenian rag.*" And it was now generally realized with some trepidation, that although this insurrectionist who was carrying things with such a high hand might be perfectly sane, he was as great a menace to the safety of the community as if a perfect madman, because of perverted notions of right, poor judgment and overweening

ambition. So from this out, parties who held divergent views upon the existing situation, acted as showing that, separately or otherwise, they had in this at least now come to the same conclusion, viz: that if bloodshed was to be avoided it behooved all to conduct themselves with great circumspection. And in this connection the name of William McDougall should not be omitted, for before leaving Pembina, he made use of what was perhaps the best means at his command, whereby he could to some extent at least make amends for having issued his unfortunate *coup d'etat* proclamations; and to that end he stationed Major Boulton at Portage la Prairie with instructions to have the Indians properly informed of the true state of affairs, and to use his influence in such a manner that an open clash with the malcontents might be avoided. It was also by order of Mr. McDougall that Joseph Monkman was sent from camp to camp among the Indians living on the borders of Lake Winnipeg.

And here it may be remarked that the genuine friendship existing between the English and French was very much due to a valuable possession bequeathed both by their *Great-grandmothers*—a spare language, the Cree, which valuable at all times, was particularly so at a time of stress like the present, as it enabled them to sit down in friendly confab, and while discussing a question of common moment to see and understand each other's view-point with reciprocal sympathy. And at this particular time this vehicle of good understanding was used with an effectiveness which few are aware of by such men as Joseph Monkman, Pascal Berland, Henry Cook, Hamlin, William Gaddy, Dease and many others, for while these men admitted that the serious under-rating by the Canadian authorities of the rights of the North-West pioneers may have justified Riel's first acts in defiance of Canadian authority, they unhesitatingly condemned the subsequent acts of unlawfulness which in their saner judgment were bound to lead to ignoble disaster.

On a night previous to the surrender of the Canadians, Thomas Scott and William Hallet, who were acting as scouts, were captured by the Metis. Thus these two became Riel's first prisoners; and had he been satisfied that he was not in a position to go further in this line of business, it might have been much better for him in

the end; but when, upon the surrender of the Canadians, he imprisoned the entire lot, forty-five in number, he must have known that he was incurring an awful risk. To have attempted bringing about their surrender by treachery was harmless and respectable in comparison, if the surrender only was in view; but to undertake to imprison as many as forty-seven men indefinitely—no doubt in the intention of Riel, for the entire winter should it in his judgment be considered expedient—this was an act which cannot be better described than by the word, *infamous*.

Most of the Canadians who surrendered on the 7th December, 1869, remained in prison or jail until the 10th February, 1870. A short time before the last-named date twelve of the thirty-eight who were confined in the court-house jail made their escape; seven, however, were soon recaptured. Of the five who were more fortunate Thomas Scott and Charles Mair reached Portage la Prairie, and George McVicar reached his home in Ontario. From a letter by Mr. McVicar which appeared in print, the following is culled: "On arriving at Fort Garry we were received by volleys of musketry, and imprisoned in three rooms. In these rooms we were left for the night, packed so close that we had to break the windows to keep from suffocation. . . . After this thirty-eight (among whom I was included) were removed to Fort Garry jail, the worst indignity of all. The place is close, small and unhealthy. A narrow hall and six cells six by nine feet, filthy in the extreme, and crawling with vermin. Here I remained until I escaped with four others, putting in existence as best we could."

The following is a list of the forty-five Canadians who surrendered on December 7th, and became prisoners along with their two scouts sent out to get a report upon the prospects a day or so before.

John Schultz, M.D.
G. D. McVicar
W. J. Allen
Thos. Longman
Geo. Fontney
William Nimmons

Arthur Hamilton
R. P. Meade
Henry Woodington
James Lynch, M.D.
William Graham
William Kittson

John Ferguson
 Thomas Lusted
 D. A. Campbell
 W. F. Hyman
 F. C. Mugridge
 George Millar
 A. W. Graham
 Charles Garratt
 W. J. Davis
 H. Weightman
 C. E. Palmer
 Matthew Davis
 Peter McArthur
 James C. Kent
 A. R. Chisholm
 D. Cameron
 John Hallet
 William Hallet

William Spice
 James Stewart
 John O'Donnell, M.D.
 John Ivy
 George Nicol
 James H. Ashdown
 James Mulligan
 T. Franklin
 J. B. Haines
 L. W. Archibald
 George Berbar
 Archibald Wright
 Robert R. Smith
 J. M. Coombs
 John Eccles
 J. H. Stocks
 Thomas Scott

At first the English and Scottish were disposed to notice mainly what was ridiculous and absurd in the proceedings of Riel; but by this time they realized that in the character of the man with whom they had to do there lay a serious menace to the peace and safety of the country, for in the hoisting of a rebel flag he had proclaimed his disloyalty, and in his acts of usurpation in which he had so far been successful he had betrayed the lowness of his principles.

The situation was therefore one which might well crowd the minds of the loyalists with conflicting emotions—on the one hand the feeling that it was best to have nothing to do with such a man—on the other hand an uncomfortable foreboding that *such a man* was planning to have something to say about that; and he very soon had! What were the prisoners for, but to be used as a sort of leverage whereby the captain might turn the ship of state whithersoever he listed.

Having played the game of officialdom more successfully than they of Ottawa, and in a manner which possibly seemed right in his own eyes, Riel now proceeded to readjust the machinery which

he considered necessary for the better administration of his affairs. From now on he was President in name as well as reality; O'Donohue continued Treasurer; Lepine was made Adjutant General and Bannatyne Post Master General. And to complete the governing body others were appointed as Councillors, among whom was included the retiring President, John Bruce.

It has oft been debated as to whether the pen or the sword is mightier; but no doubt it is universally conceded that, however that may be, both are very mighty; and Riel finding himself now famous through skilful waving of his sword, decided upon advancing his cause by means of that other powerful instrument, the press. To this end he acquired the newspaper of the day, "The Red River Pioneer," which was successor to the "Nor'-Wester," both in turn being owned by Mr. William Goldwell. In order to obtain the means of purchasing the "Pioneer," Riel had to remove £550 from the Hudson's Bay Company safe. For a time it looked as if the safe would have to be broken, for lack of the co-operation of the Company officials; but Secretary O'Donohue who had probably become an expert in discovering the lay of inner circles succeeded in discovering the combination.

It was on the 22nd December, twelve days after the hoisting of the Provisional Government flag that this purchasing of the "Pioneer" took place. Under the new proprietary its name was changed to "The New Nation," and made its first appearance on the 7th January, 1870. And on that day as if the authorities had received a telepathic message from Fort Garry, they got in communication with Bishop Tache at Rome by cable, and it was arranged that he return to Red River, and on behalf of the Government use his influence with the Metis. As the paper was edited by an American, one Mr. Robinson, and as it advocated annexation to the United States, it is possible that the paper did Riel's cause more harm than good, as it gave just cause for the suspicion that to him it was a matter of indifference as to whether Great Britain or the United States owned the country so long as the aggrandizement of Louis Riel was assured.

When Mr. McDougall left Pembina on December 18th, he was probably the best posted man in Canada or Fort Garry as to

the chances of annexation; for Mr. Stutsman, lawyer and postmaster at Pembina was credited with having written the proclamation or Declaration of Independence which Riel had issued ten days earlier (December 8th), the day following the imprisonment of the Canadians. And when Mr. McDougall added to the news and views of his spread-eagleist neighbours, what was reported to him by Col. Dennis, of the American proclivities at the seat of the Provisional Government, he and Col. Dennis must have reached Ottawa with a budget of news which made the authorities there sit up and take notice. And so now with every sense alert, they act with commendable dispatch, sending immediately to Red River a strikingly comprehensive representation consisting of three influential men who according to their respective callings were qualified to approach one or other of the disaffected elements with a good prospect of clearing away misunderstandings. The three men were Vicar General Thibault, Colonel De Salaberry and Mr. Donald A. Smith. The first named reached St. Boniface December 26th, the second a day later, and the last named on the 5th January.

It was not until January 15th, which was three weeks after the arrival of the two first-named of the above Commission, that this kindly and sensible gesture from Ottawa had the effect of making Riel feel shaky about the security of his position; although it was not until March 9th, on the arrival of Bishop Tâche, that the spread-eagleism in the columns of the "New Nation" came to an end. On the first-named date, however, according to Mr. Smith's own report, Riel came to him asking to be shown his Commission, as he wished to know if it authorized him to offer or accept any terms from the French Half-breeds. It turned out, however, that with a cautiousness which is supposed to be not unusual in a Scotsman, he had left the documents at Pembina. For what reason, we shall have to guess, it was not sufficient to allow Mr. Smith to send his secretary, R. Hardisty, to get them, but one of Riel's men also must go along for the same purpose. This, however, is no guess, President Riel undertook to pit his cunning against a Scot, and no one will be surprised to learn that although Riel left the fort to get the papers, it was Smith who got them, and that, too, without leaving the fort.

The influence of the delegation from Ottawa was beginning to tell against Riel, and he could see that no cunning on his part was going to prevent the public from learning the contents of Mr. D. A. Smith's Commission. He also found that his methods were antagonizing some of his French supporters, also that the pro-American sentiments expressed in the "New Nation" were not doing his cause any good, and that the English were regarding his actions with increasing aversion. For these reasons he decided that it would be better that the people of the Red River Settlement hear the much belated message from Ottawa; so notice was given of a public meeting to be held at the court-house on January 19th,

On the appointed day one thousand people assembled there. when, the building being much too small, the meeting was held outdoors in a temperature twenty degrees below zero. Between Riel's temperament and the temperature, business proceeded so slowly that when darkness was coming on Mr. Smith's Commission and the Queen's proclamation were not finished, even in the reading, so the meeting was adjourned to the next day. At this adjourned meeting the attendance was larger still, and after discussion of the documents just mentioned a resolution was passed to the effect that the English and French were each to elect twenty delegates to meet in the court-house, January 25th, to consider the subject of Mr. Smith's Commission, and to decide what had better be done in the interests of the country.

On January 23rd, which was the third day after the adjourned meeting, and two days before the first convention of the forty delegates, Doctor Schultz made his escape; and at the time some who were in the best position to know, believed that in escaping from prison he escaped the death to which in the plans of Riel he was foredoomed, and allowing that such an opinion is largely presumptive, it becomes easily credible in the light of previous and subsequent events, and in the face of the undeniable fact that there was no man whose influence Riel so much dreaded as that of Dr. Schultz.

It was fortunate for the Doctor that he was married, and married to a lady whose mentality was as far above mediocrity as his own, and she, by clever stratagem succeeded in putting her

husband in possession of a gimlet and a jack-knife; and with these, being a skilful surgeon, he performed *successful operations* on the organs of the window and the *cuticle* of a buffalo, otherwise called a buffalo robe. Cutting the latter into strips, which he joined together, and with the gimlet fastening one end of the line thus formed to the wall beneath the window-sill, he made his exit, and was letting himself down when the line gave way and he dropped on to icy ground from a sufficient height to hurt his leg rather seriously. He, however, succeeded in limping to the wall and scaling it as well, and providentially between this perch and *terra firma* there was a snow-drift into which he quickly and safely landed. Extricating himself from this he made his way with as much speed as his lameness would permit to Kildonan and the residence of Mr. Robert McBeath. In throwing himself thus upon the generosity of Mr. McBeath, it may be said that the Doctor paid a high compliment to his personal honour, as well as to the chivalry of the race to which he belonged, for the Doctor was not Scottish, and with respect to the "claims" of the Hudson's Bay Company they were decidedly on opposite sides.

The Doctor made no mistake in his selection of a house of refuge, and in getting under cover with the least possible delay, for no sooner was his escape discovered than Riel had mounted men scouring the country far and wide in order to effect his recapture; but it was not in the nature of the Metis to persist very long in such cold and dangerous sport, and none knew that better than the fugitive and his host, and they also knew of the convention of the forty delegates due to take place on the 25th; and it might well be anticipated that in order to guard against mishap in the conduct of that affair, Riel's attention and resources would be centred there for the time being. It worked out so; on the first day the searchers passed and repassed the Doctor's place of concealment; but never a hint did they receive that they were passing the asylum which sheltered the redoubtable Doctor whose weight had snapped the buffalo cuticle in the early morning of that very day. And through that and the succeeding day no greater care could have been bestowed upon Queen Victoria herself than was bestowed upon Doctor Schultz, only with a brave determination to reveal the *care* to nobody. Then when his second

night of freedom was well advanced, while most other minds were exercised over what might happen at the convention on the morrow, Mr. McBeath further risked the displeasure of Riel by supplying the Doctor with horse and cutter with his eldest son as driver, by which means he reached St. Peter's in safety, where he could more safely doctor himself of his lameness, because his hiding place would be less accessible to Riel's scouts on their poorly conditioned mounts.

Leaving the Doctor there to recuperate, we now turn our attention to the second convention which came into existence under the Provisional Government. The following is a list of the forty representatives who were elected during the five days which had been allowed for that purpose.

FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| St. Paul's— | St. Vital— |
| M. Thibert | Louis Riel |
| Alex. Pagee | A. Beauchemin |
| Maquer Briston | St. Norbert— |
| St. Francois Xavier— | P. Parenteau |
| Xavier Pagee | N. Larouche |
| Pierre Poitras | B. Towron |
| St. Charles— | Point Coupee— |
| A. McKay | Louis Lacerte |
| J. F. Grant | P. Delorme |
| St. Boniface— | Oak Point— |
| W. B. O'Donohue | Frs. Nolin |
| A. Lepine | C. Nolin |
| Joseph Genton | Pt. aGrouette— |
| Louis Schmidt | George Klyne |

ENGLISH REPRESENTATIVES

| | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| St. Peter's— | Kildonan— |
| Rev. H. Cochrane | John Fraser |
| Thomas Spence | John Sutherland |
| St. Clement's— | St. John's— |
| Thomas Bunn | James Ross |
| Alex. McKenzie | |

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| St. Andrew's— | St. James'— |
| Judge Black | George Flett |
| Donald Gunn, Sr. | Robert Tait |
| Alfred Boyd | Headingley— |
| St. Mary's, Portage la Prairie— | John Taylor |
| K. McKenzie | W. Lonsdale |
| St. Margaret's, High Bluff— | St. Ann's, Poplar Point— |
| W. Cummings | George Gunn |
| St. Paul's— | David Spence |
| Dr. Bird | Winnipeg— |
| | Alfred F. Scott |

As agreed, these delegates met at the court-house on January 25th, and from that date to February 10th, daily sessions were held. Judge Black was unanimously voted to the chair. Messrs. Wm. Caldwell and Louis Schmidt were appointed secretaries and Messrs. James Ross and Louis Riel agreed to act as interpreters.

The third day on which the delegates met, the following committee was elected to draw up a bill of rights: Thos. Bunn, James Ross, Dr. Bird, Louis Riel, Louis Schmidt and Charles Nolin.

In reality the work of this committee consisted of revising the bill of rights drawn up by Riel and his lieutenants, and which notwithstanding the disapproval of all but two of the English delegates had been carried by a very scant majority at a meeting of the first convention held December 1, 1869. The committee of six just named were engaged in this revision four days, reporting to the convention on January 29th; and from that date until February 5th, the bill underwent its final revision. Two days later, viz: on the 7th February, the Canadian Government Commissioners met the delegates in convention. Mr. D. A. Smith turned the opportunity to good account, assuring them that it was the sincere desire of the Canadian Government to treat the Red River Settlers with fairness and generosity. He also informed them that he was authorized to invite them to elect two or more delegates to proceed to Ottawa to confer with the Government and Legislature, and to give information as to the wishes of the people and to arrange for representation in Parliament

The English delegates were delighted with the prospects of a speedy and amicable settlement. And the same may also be said of the more thoughtful and independent among the French who had never supported the uprising with an eye to the Hudson's Bay Company *perveersion*. And all were quite agreed on the wisdom of sending delegates to Ottawa without loss of time. It was also agreed that these were to be representatives of the people of Red River Settlement through the established government. And no one was so particular as Louis Riel that the people made no mistake on that point, because he had a feeling that he was very much established, and he had been quite successful in imparting that feeling to the people as well, even while they were fully aware that the only legally constituted government in the country was that of the Hudson's Bay Company. The English delegates would have preferred leaving this matter in abeyance rather than ignore the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company and Council of Assiniboia; but somewhat to the surprise of their constituents, two of the ablest members of the convention, Messrs. James Ross and Thomas Bunn sided with Riel and O'Donohue on this question.

When the convention reassembled on the eighth discussion of this question was resumed, and the chief credit of having brought it to a head must be conceded to the two Scottish moderates who were members for Kildonan, Messrs. Sutherland and Fraser. These gentlemen called on Governour McTavish and asked for his views as to the advisability of forming a Provisional Government, and his answer was that of a very sick man who was nearing the distant scene and doubtless desired peace above all things—"Form a government, for God's sake," he replied, "and restore peace and order in the Settlement." To the perplexed members of the convention it seemed just as well to treat these words as if they contained the legal resignation of the legal Governour. And Riel treated the words of the sick Governour, in this case, with more respect than he treated his proclamation issued some time earlier. Before adjournment a committee was appointed to decide on what was to be the character and composition of the reorganized Provisional Government, and this Committee reported at the evening session of the 9th, recommending a council of

twenty-four members, twelve English and twelve French, also suggesting the following for the various government offices:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Judge of Supreme Court..... | James Ross |
| Sheriff..... | Henry McKenny |
| Coroner..... | Dr. Bird |
| Post Master General..... | A. G. B. Bannatyne |
| Collectors of Custom..... | John Sutherland, Roger Goulet |
| Secretary of State..... | Thomas Bunn |
| Assistant Secretary of State..... | Louis Schmidt |
| Secretary of the Treasury..... | W. B. O'Donohue |

It will be noted that the Committee had not suggested who was to be President; but when their report had been handed in and was discussed, the nomination of Riel took place and the report was adopted. Riel felt so elated over this success that he there and then gave orders that Governour McTavish, Dr. Cowan and Mr. Bannatyne should at once be given full liberty, and also promised that all the prisoners would shortly be set at liberty.

The English members of the reorganized Provisional Government were, of course, now more closely associated with Riel than ever before, and were we able to swallow the dose the "New Nation" handed out in its announcement of this election, we would have to believe that the people of Red River rejoiced exceedingly at being represented in a Government whose head was Louis Riel, and that the great number of little guns that were fired off at Fort Garry and in the nearby village was the unmistakable evidence of this gladness, whereas there were many who hated the distortion of the truth perpetrated in the article in the "New Nation," and who were comforting themselves with the reflection that in apparently making common cause with Riel for a little while, they were taking the most harmless way of minimizing the peril of the existing situation while waiting for the deliverance which it was hoped would arrive with the Spring. Nevertheless, those who best knew the Provisional Government from a too lengthy study of it at close quarters, could endure it no longer. Among these was Mr. Alfred Boyd, delegate from St. Andrew's, who at this time withdrew and refused to have any further connection with it.

On February 10th, the day following the reconstruction of the Government, it met for the dispatch of business, and made a promising beginning by electing three delegates to Ottawa; these were Judge Black, Pere M. Richot and Alfred H. Scott. But following this the undependableness of Riel continued as much in evidence as ever. The delegates did not leave for Ottawa until March 23rd, forty-one days after their election, and instead of the prisoners having been *soon released* as promised, the day preceding the forty-one day period we find that with the exception of the three gentlemen, Messrs. McTavish, Cowan and Bannatyne—ordered to be given their liberty on that particular day, and eight *bona fide* prisoners released a few days later, the rest of the prisoners continued in confinement; and it should be remembered that when these three so-called prisoners were ordered to be released, the real prisoners had already been jailed for sixty-four days, and owing to being crowded into rooms unwarmed except by their own breath, many of them suffered from scurvy, and some contracted other diseases from which they never entirely recovered. And as there were among these prisoners men born in the country, it can be understood how their friends without would be roused to the most intense indignation, and that rather than await Riel's pleasure as to the time that further releases would take place, they decided to agitate for a counter uprising; and they did so, with the result that about six hundred and eighty men enlisted. Eighty of these belonged to the Parish of Portage la Prairie, High Bluff, Poplar Point and Headingly. These placed themselves under the leadership of Major Boulton. The six hundred were recruited by Dr. Schultz from the parishes lying east of Kildonan, and the entire force met at the Kildonan school-house on the afternoon of February 15th.



CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

1870-1885

Rebellions, First and Second

DURING the winter of 1869-1870 communication between points east and west of Fort Garry was particularly difficult from two causes, one natural and the other artificial—the snow that winter was over three feet in depth—and Riel had placed a barricade across the thoroughfare at White Horse Plains; but through the timely escape of a few resourceful prisoners, these obstructions were overcome. Thomas Scott and Charles Mair were among the escaped prisoners, and when these two arrived safely at Portage la Prairie and made known the terrible condition of the prisoners, there was at once set on foot plans by which concerted action could be taken with the other English parishes so as to compel Riel to release his prisoners without delay. This time the justification for a counter uprising was so obvious that it might be described as spontaneous, and Major Boulton, still mindful of his instructions to act as conservator of the peace, readily accepted the position as leader of the Portage volunteers, which, without any dissent, they bestowed upon him, while Dr. Schultz, who had now been at liberty for twenty-three days, with similar cheerfulness and unanimity marched at the head of the larger contingent from the eastern parishes to the appointed rendezvous.

The Portage contingent left there February 12th at one a.m., and arrived at Headingly at midnight. As a blizzard was setting in, the time of attack was postponed. It may be that this weather was sent, and that it fought on the side of the right. At any rate,

it was a blessed camouflage under which arrangements for simultaneous action in conjunction with the volunteers from the eastern parishes could be perfected, and the general situation much improved.

These proposed changes were discussed at a meeting held at the house of John Taylor; and two deputations were quickly appointed and sent forth on their respective missions. One of these consisted of William Gaddy, a Portage buffalo hunter known and beloved of all the Metis because of his geniality and courage. Gaddy visited Dease and other influential Frenchmen who were known to disapprove of Riel and his methods. The other deputation consisted of three men one of whom was John Taylor. They visited the lower parishes, and there the plan of united action was arranged, more precisely than was before practicable.

At eight o'clock on the evening of the 14th the party at Headingly left there, and passing Winnipeg during the night arrived in good time at the Kildonan school-house and there awaited the arrival of the reinforcements from the lower parishes.

Their arrival is thus described by Major Boulton: "It was a fine sight about three o'clock to see three or four hundred settlers marching up to our neighbourhood, headed by a small cannon drawn by four oxen, the whole under the leadership of Dr. Schultz, whose powerful figure stood out boldly as he led them up."

The first act of the English was to send a mandate to Riel by Tom Norquay of St. Andrew's to the effect that unless the prisoners were released by a certain hour on the following day (February 16th), the fort would be attacked. Riel did the right thing that time—he immediately released the prisoners; and on doing this somewhat lessened his humiliation by sending the following reply:

"Fort Garry, February 16, 1870.

"Fellow Countrymen:

"Mr. Norquay came this morning with a message, and even he has been delayed. He will reach you in time enough to tell you that for my part I understand that war, horrible civil war, is

the destruction of this country, and Schultz will laugh at us if after all he escapes. We are ready to meet any party, but peace, our British rights we want above all. Gentlemen, the prisoners are out, they have sworn to keep the peace. We have taken the responsibility of our past acts. Mr. William McTavish has asked you for the sake of God to form and complete the Provisional Government. Your representatives have joined us on that ground. Who will now come and destroy Red River Settlement?

"Louis Riel."

Note the comprehensiveness with brevity, in the foregoing missive, and the involuntary compliment paid the terrible doctor, Riel's pet antipathy, which conjures up the picture, too horrible to contemplate—that of the doctor laughing at the Provisional Government after his escape.

Before Norquay's return to Kildonan a most unfortunate thing had happened there. A young French Half-breed by the name of Parisien working his way from house to house northwards was captured by the allied English parishioners on suspicion of being a spy and was being held under guard at the Kildonan school-house. Watching his chance he sprinted through the open door, and seizing a double-barrel gun from one of the sleighs, started on the run towards the river. Geo. Garrioch, brother of the writer, was the party on guard at the time, and he raised his gun to his shoulder and drew a bead on the flying Frenchman. With finger pressing dangerously on the trigger, in spite of shouts, "Shoot him! Shoot him!" he lowered his gun, because as he told me two days later, it just then flashed into his mind that this command and the sixth commandment did not go very well together.

It is said that Parisien was mentally defective, and his actions on this occasion support that assertion. On the river he met young Sutherland, a son of the delegate of that name who later became senator. Sutherland was on horse-back on his way to visit the allied parishioners at Kildonan. With his pursuers already close upon his heels, Parisien shot at Sutherland with the result that he fell off his horse, and when he was in the act of rising fired a second shot the ball from which passed through his body causing his death a few hours later. The pursuit of Parisien

was continued and he was soon recaptured and taken back to the school-house.

After their success in securing the release of the prisoners, the volunteers at Kildonan decided that while they were about it, they might as well go on and relieve Fort Garry by ejecting the dictator and his followers; but they were dissuaded from carrying out this plan by the Canadian Commissioners and some of the leading clergy and other citizens. However, while their next move was still on the tapis, by way of encouraging them to disband, Riel gave the promise that if they would disperse peaceably to their homes he would make no attempt to molest them.

By this time Major Boulton knew better than to place any confidence in Riel's promises which were on a par with the famous invitation: "Come into my parlour said the spider to the fly," and so his advice to his men was that they break up into parties of two or three each, and in that manner find their way back to Portage. Some took this advice, among whom were Charles Mair, Francis Ogletree, George Garrioch, and Martin Burnell, and these made the journey in safety. But there were forty-seven of the contingent who preferred marching up in a body, being much influenced by the opinion of a retired sergeant-major of the British army which was expressed in the speech: "We came down together like brave men, and we ought to go back in the same manner." Unfortunately the rank and file found it difficult to differentiate between courage and foolhardiness; and on this occasion the *bull-dog* courage of the lesser major seemed to appeal to them more forcibly than the *collie-like* intelligence of the superior major; so the forty-seven put in the night of February 16th at the store of Mr. Alfred Boyd, the English gentleman who withdrew in disgust from Riel's second convention, as his book-keeper Morris Lowman had done from the first convention.

This building stood about three hundred yards west of St. John's Cathedral. Fortunately for the party, although they had not taken the major's advice, he threw in his lot with them, and he was still their leader when they struck out for Portage on the morning of the 17th; and it was most likely due to his courage and coolness that a conflict with the insurgents was averted.

Although the Portage party made a considerable detour to the right of the thoroughfare, they were observed from the fort, and when about opposite, a party of horsemen approached them as rapidly as the depth of snow would permit. As they drew near Major Boulton solemnly charged his men not to provoke a conflict, but if attacked to put up a fight that would do them credit.

The French party was led by Lepine and O'Donohue, who rode close up and demanded their surrender. Major Boulton gave the command to his men to do so, a command which some of them complied with very reluctantly.

Having surrendered they were marched to the fort and imprisoned in the same quarters where only the day before had been incarcerated the men whose release they had been instrumental in securing. This extraordinary exchange of prisoners was facetiously described next day in the "New Nation" in an article headed, "The Portage Volunteers Gobbled Up."

It has already been intimated that my brother and others reached Portage la Prairie in safety. However, in his case, and that of Martin Burnell this did not take place until after the capture of their fellow citizens; and it was then that I was given a chance to do my little bit by endeavoring to secure a pass from Riel without which no one was supposed to travel from Fort Garry to Portage la Prairie at this particular time. And thus it was that on a beautiful afternoon on the 19th February, two days after the capture of my fellow citizens I had the temerity to call on the President. Fortune is said to favour the brave; but in this instance I am willing to admit that it favoured more curiosity than courage, when I was picked up on the way by Mr. Fraser of Kildonan and given a seat in his cariole, for Mr. Fraser was a much bigger man than I, and had a proportionately big and abiding smile and belonged to a parish which had taken a prudently inoffensive attitude, and, best of all, he was like myself, on his way to interview the President.

On being introduced to Riel by Mr. Fraser he gave me a quick nod and a glance intended to be piercing. A frown which never left his face would have conveyed an unfavourable impression of the man even to a well-disposed observer. Throughout the

interview he gave me the impression that he had a profound sense of his own importance and responsibility, and that it made him feel nervous and uncomfortable. I gauged his height to be about five feet six or seven inches. His complexion was rather dark, and his eyebrows bushy and prominent. He had a receding but intellectual forehead, which was over-topped by a thick mass of jet black hair worn *a la Paderewski*. He was well-knit and of ordinary stoutness, and his appearance on the whole was uncommon but not by any means prepossessing.

We were hardly seated when he began to deplore the unhappy condition of affairs in the Settlement. And the man had the audacity to declare that this was largely due to the stand taken by the English in not honouring the pledges given by their delegates at the convention of February 5th when the bill of rights was passed, and again on the 9th when the Provisional Government was formed. Mr. Fraser took the opposite view, viz: that the English delegates had certain instructions from their constituencies regarding the matters mentioned, and that therefore their actions at the conventions, if not in harmony therewith could not be binding upon the constituencies. Riel said that such a position was untenable, and then as if to show us that he was like unto that man having authority who could "say unto this man come and he would have to come," he sent for the future Lord Strathcona, Donald A. Smith, in order that he might refer the matter in dispute to him.

While we waited Riel pretty well monopolized the conversation, which he ended with the following lament: "We must all admit that the affairs of this country are in a deplorable condition; but if the people could only be made to see it, the remedy is in their own hands. No one can deplore the situation more than I do! But these English! Oh these English! How can they be so stupid? How is it that they cannot understand? Oh what would I not give to see peace, security and prosperity restored to this country!" Just then Mr. Smith entered, frowning worse than Riel, and took a seat in the corner as remote from him as the size of the room would permit. He complained of a headache, and looked it, so Riel without loss of time told him why he had sent for him, and asked him for his opinion as to the character of the convention

of February 5th. Mr. Smith replied, "I was under the impression that it was a *bona fide* representation." Once and again Riel tried to get a little more out of him, but all that he got was a repetition of exactly the same words.

As soon as Mr. Smith had withdrawn, I informed Riel of the object of my visit, beginning a rather neat but not altogether extemporaneous speech with the words, "Mr. President." Apparently my politeness was not wasted, for quick as a flash he answered: "Certainly, I shall be most happy to hand him a pass, but please tell your brother for me that I should very much like to see him before he leaves." Need it be said that George Garrioch's safe arrival at Portage la Prairie was due not to the use of a pass which he did not go after, but to a free use of Shanks mare whereby he was enabled to make a wide detour over the trackless prairies.

I was not aware at the time of this interview that only two days before Riel had informed Major Boulton that he was to be shot for treason, at noon on the following day, and that he had been prevented from carrying out his purpose through the influence of Donald A. Smith, put to the test in this way—that he with the assistance of others would succeed in inducing the English to join the French in the support of the Provisional Government.

According to this agreement Mr. Smith accompanied by Archdeacon McLean visited the parishes north of Fort Garry. And as may be easily understood, when the English were informed that the death of Major Boulton would be the penalty of failure in their mission, it took no great strain on the sagacity of Mr. Smith or the eloquence of Archdeacon McLean to induce them to consent that they would send this time an unquestionably "*bona fide* representation" to the Provisional Government.

About this time it was rumoured that Riel intended to shoot a loyalist or so, in order to scare the others; and knowing as we do his strange obliquity of judgment and conscience he would reason that although he did not shoot Boulton or in lieu Schultz, he would still be living up to his agreement with the English parishes should he consider it necessary to shoot someone else. This opinion fits in with what actually happened. On the 22nd February when Riel already knew that Messrs. Smith and McLean had succeeded

in their mission, but knew not that Dr. Schultz had left the country with Jos. Monckman the day before, he headed a mounted party and rode down the Settlement in search of him; and when he returned disappointed there can be little doubt that in his mind the doom of poor Thomas Scott was that day sealed, for it was only ten days thereafter that he was shot, or rather, murdered, because he happened to be the man among the remaining prisoners, who had most outspokenly, if sometimes imprudently expressed his contempt for Riel and his pretensions. He therefore had to be the man whose death would show that there was a foundation for the rumour of a foreordained shooting of one or two opponents of the Provisional Government so as to scare the rest of them into loyalty. And in this case the mediation of Mr. Smith, Bishop Machray, Rev. George Young, Major Boulton and others was useless. Poor Riel forgetting in his vanity that we all stand before a higher judgement seat, dared to arrogate to himself the positions of both ruler and judge, and dead to any sense of compassion or charity, to immolate a human victim on the altar of his inflated vanity and fiendish hate.

A full account of the shooting of Scott will be found in chapter nineteen, Gunn and Tuttle. It took place on March 4th and was fearfully bungled. John Bruce, first president of the Provisional Government, who gradually dropped out and forsook the rebel cause, was with other witnesses called upon to testify at an investigation respecting the death of Scott. This evidence makes unpleasant reading, and I shall cut it short with a few of Bruce's own words: "After ten and a half hours of frightful agony, a person whose name I shall withhold for the present, went into the bastion, and according to some gave him the finishing stroke with a butcher's knife, with a pistol, according to others."

This infamous deed was not reported in the "New Nation." And as to the disposal of the body this remains a matter of speculation unto this day. At first it was given out that it had been placed in a rough box and buried within the fort, and a fresh-made mound of earth was pointed out in support of this statement. Then about the same time there was a rumour that the body had been clandestinely removed from the rough box and sunk through a hole in the ice of the Red River somewhere

between the fort and St. Boniface. Soon after the arrival of the troops the so-called Scott's grave was opened; and the box truly was there, but when opened was found to be empty.

On the 9th March Bishop Tache arrived at St. Boniface—five days after the shooting of Scott. On the 15th he met the English and French delegates in convention, when Riel introduced him to the house, which he designated the "first Legislative Assembly of this country." Without trying very hard the Bishop could be just as respectful as the President, and not only more genuine but much more diplomatic as well, so while he made no reference to the foul blot which disfigured the escutcheon of the latter, it is not to be assumed that he excused or thought lightly of it; but if the Governour-General's Proclamation of December 6th and Sir John A. McDonald's letter of February 16th be studied (see Gunn and Tuttle, page 408), it will be obvious that the Bishop acting on the authority of these documents could assure Riel and the Metis of an amnesty for what had happened at Fort Garry up to the last-named date, and that only providing that certain conditions were or had been complied with when the Bishop had an opportunity to exercise his delegated authority. But when that opportunity came something had happened which no premier or Governour-General would dare condone—a British subject had been unlawfully slain, and as Major Boulton had warned Riel when pleading with him for the life of Scott—for such a deed the British Government was wont to follow the man-slayer until it brought him to the bar of justice. But Bishop Tache in the trying situation in which he was placed leaned so far over to the side of mercy that he disturbed the equilibrium between it and justice, which at a much greater sacrifice had to be restored by others later on.

At this meeting of March 15th Bishop Tache asked Riel to release half of the prisoners as "an act of grace," to which Riel consented, and fifteen, including Major Boulton were released on the following day; and the others, two or three at a time, were set free by March 24th.

The delegates to Ottawa left on the last-named date, and reached there on April 11th. Rev. Pere Richot and A. Scott were

at once arrested on a charge of murder, but after certain formalities were attended to, were released.

The Government had to provide something in the nature of a safety-valve so as to relieve the over-wrought feelings of the people, and preparations were at once set on foot for sending an armed force to Red River Settlement.

The delegates returned from Ottawa on the 17th June, and a special session of the Provisional Government was called to hear their report; but the English members who knew well what they had to tell, and better still, that troops were already about one month on the way, took this opportunity of treating Riel and his councillors with the contempt they so richly deserved, and the only three who attended were A. G. B. Bannatyne, Thomas Bunn and James McKay.

The following was the arrangement between the Imperial and Colonial Governments to remove all obstructions which had or might hinder the carrying out of the Transfer: First, simultaneously with the movement of the troops the £300,000 was to be paid to the Hudson's Bay Company, whereupon a proclamation of the Transfer was to be issued. Secondly, it was stipulated by the Imperial Government that reasonable treatment was to be meted out to the Red River Settlers. On this understanding the Imperial Government contributed two hundred and fifty regulars sent at their expense; and the Canadian Government provided five hundred trained men. The westward movement of the troops commenced on the sixth of May, and the £300,000 was turned over to the Hudson's Bay Company on the eleventh.

The troops used the old fur-trading route, now all British, and leaving Collingwood May 21st, 1870, arrived at Fort Garry August 24th, having travelled one thousand, one hundred and forty-six miles in ninety-five days, a daily average of about eleven miles.

It was in the midst of an all-day steady rain that they arrived at St. John's, and as we gazed at them briskly pulling up the Red River, so glad were we to see them, that had they been clad in the canvas-back shirts, their usual garb on the journey, instead of

as now, their proper uniform, they would have looked almost as fine to us and been none the less welcome to our longing eyes. They disembarked at Point Douglas, when a few men at once went forward in extended order, while the rest rapidly forming in columns of four went forward on the quick march. They made a detour to the right, approaching the fort at an angle of about seventy to Main Street. I cannot recall any citizens being present at the place of disembarkation except Colin Inkster—now Sheriff—and John McTavish and Joe Hatgrave and myself. We walked up through the village along Main Street, keeping behind and then abreast of the troops, so that we reached the east gate of the fort as they reached the one at the west. About ten minutes after entering the troops emerged from the gate where Mr. Inkster and I and two or three others were standing. The Union Jack had been hoisted, and the band now struck up the National Anthem after which we joined with all the lung power we possessed in giving three cheers for the Queen, thereby expressing our entire satisfaction at the decline and fall of the "Pemmican Government."

Had the advice of the Colonial Secretary, Earl Granville been taken, the Red River Settlement would have been presided over by a military Governour for at least one year after the Transfer, and the position would no doubt have been filled by Colonel Wolseley, supported by the troops with which he arrived in the country; and had this prudent course been taken it is likely that there would not have been another Riel Rebellion in 1885. And it is also likely that had he come to the country in such capacity he would not have so puzzled the loyal citizens by his apparent indifference over the escape of Riel, O'Donohue and Lepine, who it is said could still be sighted in their hasty and ignominious flight when he and his troops were entering the fort. This matter, however, he soon made clear by proclamation, in which the settlers were informed "that the sole object of his mission was to secure Her Majesty's authority in the country," and he had certainly accomplished something in this direction when he got President Riel on the run towards the land of stars and stripes. And his task was practically consummated when he restored the reins of Government to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company from whose hands they had so easily been wrested. Under the

circumstances, Donald A. Smith became Governour for the remainder of the Company's *regime* and responsible during that time for the administration of the judicial affairs of the country, and so forcibly was he made aware of the fact that in the course of the nine-day interregnum which preceded the arrival of Lieutenant-Governour Archibald he had yielded to pressure and allowed warrants to be issued for the arrest of Riel, O'Donohue and Lepine; and thus when Governour Archibald became Governour of the country, there were these unserved warrants to show him that, while an amnesty to a deluded people might be approved and justified, there was in the land a righteous sense of justice which refused to condone the crime of murder.

Governour Archibald arrived in the Settlement September 2nd, 1870, and a few days later commenced the preliminaries to the formation of a representative and responsible Government, by appointing two members of the Executive Committee, viz: Alfred Boyd to the position of Provincial Secretary, and Mr. M. A. Girard to that of Provincial Treasurer; and at the same time the taking of a census was commenced, with a view to the division of the Settlement into electoral districts.

Governour Archibald had been eleven days in the country, and the prospect of peace and quietness was daily growing brighter, when a relapse occurred. While the Canadian volunteers were admittedly a fine lot of men, there were bound to be among them some who would patronize the Red Salon and would be sure to meet there a number of the Metis, and such occurred on the 13th September when Elzear Goulet was pointed out to the volunteers as a member of the Court Martial which had passed sentence on Scott, and forthwith in their impatient and possibly befuddled state of mind they seem to have confused the bar of the Red Salon with the bar of justice, and Goulet believing that they were likely then and there to subject him to condign punishment sought safety in flight, and being hard-pressed by the pursuing volunteers he plunged into the Red River and in the attempt to swim across, was drowned. And the place and manner of his death caused some to speculate as to whether he had not gone under at the exact spot where the body of Scott had been

sunk through a hole in the ice—an idea of justice which smacks more of the human than the humane or divine.

There was a thorough investigation over the manner of Goulet's death, and the responsibility for it was traced home to three of the volunteers, but owing to the excitement connected with the occurrence it was deemed wise to let the matter rest for a time, and it is resting still. It might well be said that there was such a complication of circumstances that one was liable to acquiesce conscientiously in some course of action which involved a perversion of justice. For instance when it was argued that the death of Goulet might well be regarded as a set-off for the death of Scott—a strange modification of justice—which, however, is not more strange than Sir John A. McDonald's forecast, contained in his letter *re* amnesty, in which he gives these promises *conditionally*: "Should the question arise as to the consumption of any goods or stores belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company by the insurgents, you are authorized to inform the leaders that if the Company's Government is restored not only will there be general amnesty granted, but in case the Company should claim the payment for such stores that the Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents and all harm."*

About this time the settlers were beginning to think the "smoothing over" policy of the Hudson's Bay Company almost as good as the policy of expediency so far pursued by the Canadian Government.

The winter of 1870-71 was a great contrast for the Metis from the previous one; but as the Canadian militia remained in the country they walked circumspectly, doing nothing worse than holding meetings at which it was arranged how they were to resist with armed force any attempt to arrest the leaders of the rebellion.

On May 1st, 1871, the Canadian militia commenced their return to Ontario, only eight remaining for the purpose of

*It is estimated that the occupancy of Fort Garry by Riel and the Metis cost the Hudson's Bay Company £50,000 as they received no indemnity from the Canadian Government. (See Gunn and Tuttle, page 412.)

strengthening the police force. Five days before they left settlers from Ontario commenced to arrive, and in the course of a few months the Government of Manitoba had a sufficient accession of strength to be able to speak with authority; but for all that, Governour Archibald to the last was not able to cast aside the policy of expediency.

Five months after the departure of the volunteers there were rumours afloat of an impending Fenian raid, and a few days later Governour Archibald furnished evidence of there being solid ground for such rumours by issuing a proclamation dated October 3rd, 1872, in which 'Her Gracious Majesty called on all her loving subjects, irrespective of race or religion, or of past local differences to rally round the flag of their common country, and at once enroll and support the Government in its resolve to expel the invaders.'

On October 5th, two days after the issuing of Governour Archibald's proclamation, the Fenian raid was begun and finished at Pembina, for on that day the Fenians crossed over into British territory and seized the Hudson's Bay Company Post, whereupon Col. Wheaton in charge of a small body of American troops, on behalf of his Government, performed an act which was both friendly and honourable—he raided the raiders, and a few others, all of whom were shortly liberated. And the reader is asked to note that the collapse of the Fenian raid could easily have been made known to Governour Archibald the day on which it occurred, by a rider on an ordinary horse. But what *was* happening in the English and French parishes on the day of the raid at Pembina? Nothing that the writer ever heard of with respect to the French; but this is what I saw of the English: nine hundred of them assembled ready to leave for Pembina in response to the Queen's Proclamation. It was two days later, October 8th, before anything definite was heard from the French; and on that day a message was sent the Governour informing him that two hundred Metis were assembled at St. Boniface, desiring to aid in the defence of the country. On hearing this he went over in company with Mr. Royal, and was then introduced to Messrs. Riel and Lepine; and there and then he shook hands with them and thanked them for their loyal stand. And thus there was furnished reasonable

ground for the suspicion that this was nothing more nor less than a collusive *coup d'etat* by Bishop Tache and Governour Archibald, who had a very good chance to know by this time the result of Col. Wheaton's gallant act at Pembina—now three days old! Actions, it is true, are not to be condemned on the strength of suspicion alone. Yet in this connection a challenge by O'Donohue cannot very well be ignored, for "he states in a letter to the speaker of the House of Commons that the so-called Fenian raid was a misnomer; that it was simply a continuance of the Red River Rebellion; and that it was planned at the meeting at La River Salle on September 17th, 1870, at which both Riel and Lepine were present; and that as Secretary of the Provisional Government he was prepared to furnish the documentary evidence if necessary."

The hand-shaking at St. Boniface was severely criticized, as it was considered that Riel's loyalty was too belated to entitle him to any such mark of favour from the representative of his sovereign, who by this action was suspected of deliberately smoothening the way for an amnesty which would include the leaders of the rebellion, and in truth, it was agreed later that acceptance of their services in defence of the country was of the nature of a pardon, an argument which no doubt carried some weight, when in 1875, a partial amnesty was granted to Riel and Lepine.

In 1872 there was a general election for the Federal Parliament, by which date Riel was once more prepared to come out from the shade into the lime-light; and it was his intention to stand for election for the constituency of Provencher. To prevent this, which would have aggravated an already sufficiently complicated situation, Sir John A. McDonald again entered into negotiations with Bishop Tache, with the result that Riel consented to leave the country for a consideration of one thousand dollars, as his Grace stated that he was a poor man and had a mother and three sisters to support.

Riel's estimate of his importance being thus confirmed, it was not long until he was again discussing with the Bishop the higher price which the Federal authorities should pay as indemnity for

his political seclusion. But just, then came the news from Ontario of the accession to power of the Liberals under the leadership of Edward Blake, and two months later the further news that an appropriation of five thousand dollars had been voted as a reward for the capture of the murderers of Thomas Scott, and that in addition to this the county of Middlesex had offered a reward for the same purpose. One might suppose that this would have caused his speedy departure from the country—it did—aided however, by a payment of three thousand dollars from the Canadian Government on the understanding that he was not to return within a year.

So as to teach the French what was to be expected under the new order of things, after the raid of October 5th on the Hudson's Bay Company post at Pembina, in which three Metis were accused of being implicated, warrants were issued for the arrest of these men, and they were brought to trial at the quarterly court held at Fort Garry on the 17th November, at which Judge Johnson presided. In the case of one the evidence was inadequate. In the case of another the jury disagreed. The third was found guilty and sentenced to be hung on the 24th February, 1872. He was, however, pardoned.

When the news of the Fenian raid reached Ontario, the Federal authorities evidently woke up to the fact that they had left the last acquisition to the Confederation in an inadequately defended condition against internal and external foes, so an order in council was at once passed for two hundred men to be sent to Fort Garry, an order which was executed with such creditable dispatch that in nine days that number of picked men, under the leadership of Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith, were concentrated at Collingwood, whence they embarked on the 21st October; and by the 12th November had reached within twelve miles of the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods, at which point they were frozen in and had to make the rest of the journey on foot over snow and ice. And in this manner they arrived at Fort Garry on the 18th November, only twenty days after leaving Collingwood—three days after the trial of the three Frenchmen, one of whom was sentenced to be hung—so with that sentence to think over and the military feat of the two hundred volunteers,

the Metis had good cause to respect the law of the land; and, on the whole, it may be said that, beginning with 1872, the sense of security which had been so often disturbed since the autumn of 1869, now returned with every indication that it had come to stay.

According to the census taken by order of Lieutenant Governour Archibald in 1870, the population of the Red River Settlement was 11,963, of whom 6,247 were Roman Catholic and 5,716 were Protestant.

The delegates sent to Ottawa arrived there on April 11th, 1870, and during the three weeks following the Federal legislators no doubt allowed them ample opportunity to advocate the cause of Manitoba as set forth in "The Bill of Rights," and at any rate, when Sir John A. McDonald on May 2nd sponsored a bill named "The Manitoba Act" there was therein made sure to Manitoba all, or quite as good as what the Bill of Rights called for.

In dividing the Province into twenty-four electoral districts with a due regard to the predominating racial character of each; and considering that the French and English regarded themselves numerically about equal, and that there was a similar equality in the number of parishes occupied by each; it will likely be admitted that Governour Archibald and his advisers planned for elections which would be not too unpleasant, and for parliamentary representation which would be just and satisfactory to those most concerned.

The election to the first Parliament was held on the 30th December, 1870. For results I copy from Gunn and Tuttle, page 467. The following are the names of the members elected. Those marked 1, were returned by acclamation.

Baie St. Paul—J. Debuc, 1.

Headingley—John Taylor.

High Bluff—John Norquay, 1.

Kildonan—John Sutherland.

Lake Manitoba—A. McKay, 1.

Poplar Point—D. Spence.

Portage la Prairie—F. A. Bird.

St. Agathe—George Klyne.

St. Andrew's, N.—A. Boyd.
St. Andrew's, S.—E. H. G. G. Hay.
St. Anne—J. McTavish, 1.
St. Boniface, E.—M. A. Girard, 1.
St. Boniface, W.—L. Schmidt, 1.
St. Charles—H. J. Clarke, 1.
St. Clements—Thomas Bunn.
St. Francois Xavier, E.—P. Breland.
St. Francois Xavier, W.—J. Royal, 1.
St. James—E. Burk.
St. Norbert, N.—J. Lunay.
St. Norbert, S.—P. Delorme, 1.
St. Paul—Dr. Bird.
St. Peter's—Thomas Howard.
Winnipeg—D. A. Smith.

The Legislative Council was appointed 15th March, 1871, when the following gentlemen were called to that body:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Hon. F. D. Dauphinais | Hon. J. H. O'Donnell |
| Hon. Donald Gunn | Hon. Francis Ogletree |
| Hon. Solomon Hamelin | Hon. James McKay, Speaker |
| Hon. Colin Inkster | |

The Executive Council was appointed on the 10th January, 1871, when the following gentlemen accepted office:

Hon. Mark Amable Girard, Treasurer.
Hon. Thomas Howard, Provisional Treasurer.
Hon. Henry James Clarke, Q. C., Attorney General.
Hon. Alfred Boyd, Minister of Public Works and Agriculture.
Hon. James McKay, without office.

Of the twenty-four members who constituted the first Legislative Assembly, nine had been delegates to the Provisional Government, of whom five were English and the others French. The only new-comers in the new Parliament were the following: J. Debuc, M. A. Girard, H. J. Clarke, W. Royal, Thomas Howard. Of the ten constituencies who elected their member by acclamation, High Bluff alone was English.

The first assembling of the Legislature took place with imposing ceremonies in Mr. Bannatyne's house on March 5th,

1871. The mace used on the occasion was carved complete with crown from the hub of a Red River cart, by a man who came out with the Wolseley expedition, and the gilding of this essential symbol of state was performed by Premier Clarke, he being the only man in the country known to be capable of doing the work. It was saved from the fire in the first Parliament House, and is today one of the much valued relics of the Provincial Museum.

For representation in the Federal House, Manitoba was divided into the four counties of Marquette, Provencher, Selkirk and Lisgar,* the first elections for which took place on March 2nd, 1871. The town and district of Portage la Prairie lay within the county of Marquette; and as in other districts immigration from Canada had an important bearing on the racial and religious differences of the electorate, and while it left the Roman Catholics a distinct party as before, it split the English-Protestant party into two, viz, Native-born and Canadian; and although the cleavage between the two was comparatively slight, it was considered enough in the case of Marquette to cause three candidates to be placed in the field instead of only two, viz: Angus McKay, representing the French element, Peter Garrioch representing the old-timers, and Dr. Lynch representing the new-comers.

What a lot the Red River Old-timer has learned about politics since those days! At that time he was, oh, so unsophisticated! The conjure-words of party politics—protection and *free-trade*—he had little occasion to use, and did so mostly when referring to aid from a higher power, or to “trading on one’s own hook,” or trading in furs and selling to whomsoever one pleased without regard to the Hudson’s-Bay Company. And because of this political unsophisticatedness, this regrettable innocence, all three parties suffered at the first election for the county of Marquette, a striking example in the opinion of the writer, that so long as partyism sways the minds of politicians, they would be wise to confine themselves to not more than two parties, or better still, if some day they find themselves capable of making the grade and *combine the two in one*.

*Today, Winnipeg alone has four constituencies, while the number for the Province has increased to seventeen.

It was obvious to the two English candidates, and equally so to their supporters, that one of them would have to retire if the one who remained was to have a chance of fair success; and it should have been equally obvious that it depended on which one retired, and common sense and politeness should have settled that point, and no doubt settled it as far as the candidates themselves were concerned, and it could only have been due to inimical representations that Peter Garrioch was not preferred. Native born, an older man, and much older in services to the country, a splendid conversationalist, a good public speaker, well acquainted with the Metis and as much at home as themselves in their mother tongue, he was probably an equally good man among the English, and by far the more likely man to have captured a good share of the French vote. As things went with Dr. Lynch the election resulted in a tie.

And it would appear that a tie in those days might result in a great deal of trouble. In the present instance this is what happened, and the writer is able to tell on the authority of the Hon. E. A. McPherson who represented Marquette in the Parliament previous to the present one, and who in answer to my enquiries obligingly wrote me from Ottawa, February 28, 1929. His letter in substance was as follows:

At that time the election law did not have a provision that in the result of a tie, the returning officer had the casting vote; Angus McKay and James S. Lynch each polled two hundred and eighty-two votes; both came to Ottawa, and on the returns from Marquette being submitted to the Committee on Privileges and Elections they reported to the House of Commons that the returning officer should have declared both candidates elected. And so, "in the Order of the House on the 25th April the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery was instructed to amend the returns so as to declare both elected." Dr. Lynch took the oath and took his seat; but on his right to same being challenged, had to withdraw from the house pending decision. On May 13th Mr. McKay arrived in Ottawa. He did the same as Mr. Lynch and was treated the same. An adjournment of six weeks was granted the Election Committee to enquire into the matter; but the house was dissolved before they reported, and at the next general election

Mr. Robert Cunningham was elected. Mr. McPherson was unable to state what indemnity, if any, the dual candidates received; but stated that under the existing law neither would have been entitled.

The Province as at first described in the Manitoba Act was to have been a very small one, with Portage la Prairie left out, an arrangement which it was claimed was consonant with the wishes of the citizens of both St. Boniface and Portage la Prairie, the former wishing to guard against being swamped by a mixed immigration from the east; and the latter aspiring to the distinction of becoming the nucleus of a separate province. Doubtless it was much the better spirit which prevailed, when the legislators agreed upon one province, wherein facilities for the propagation of prejudices, not being nearly so handy, there has been in consequence taking place, that for which we of today should be devoutly thankful—the rapid evaporation of prejudices; so that we can hope to be able to sing one of these days with more truthfulness than formerly that “we are not divided.”

Returning to another controverted election—that of Louis Riel; we find that upon the death of Sir George E. Cartier, member for Provencher, Riel was elected by acclamation to succeed him; but that he did not go to Ottawa, in consequence of having received reliable information that if he showed up there he would be shot. In 1874 he was again elected, and this time he took a chance and went down secretly, and one day it was found that by some means he had contrived to sign the roll of membership. This was followed by a vote to test his eligibility for membership, when all but five members out of one hundred and twenty-nine present voted for his expulsion.

This must have convinced him and his friends that he never would be permitted to exercise the rights of Canadian citizenship unless exonerated by the proper authorities of the crime with which he stood charged. All parties by this time becoming thoroughly sick of discussing Riel and his just due, and after five years of turmoil over the matter, a compromise was agreed upon, and on February 12th, 1875, an amnesty was granted Riel and Lepine, conditional, however, on five years banishment and

forfeiture of political rights. Three years after banishment Riel was still living at St. Jose on the American side of the line. He then moved to Sun River in Montana, where he was teaching a small school when in 1884 he was visited by a delegation of French Half-breeds from Saskatchewan, who invited him to come and once more act as their leader in securing for them the rights which they claimed were being withheld by the Canadian Government.

THE SASKATCHEWAN REBELLION

Having now given a sufficiently full account of the first Metis uprising and of the causes which led up to it, I shall more briefly do the same regarding the second, which was a sort of upsprout from the first.

First of all I have to remark upon a drouth of reliable information as to the grievances which led up to this Saskatchewan uprising of 1885, it being apparently assumed that the rebellion of 1869 had not died but had only become dormant and when circumstances called for it, was once more roused to life in Saskatchewan fifteen years later. And thus we find that Major Boulton, when he comes to write his book, "Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellions," seemingly regards the second rebellion as connected with the first, or, as one might say, a sort of sequel to it. And his readers may conclude that while he admitted the real character of the grievances connected with the first, he regarded the like grievances complained of in connection with the second as chimerical. To a man like the Major who had been only a hair's-breadth from death per dictum of Riel, and who before and after had ample time and opportunity for the leisurely and serious study of his character, and who as a result gave it as his dictum "that Riel was a man lacking in moral stamina and afflicted with a diseased vanity," it would be quite comprehensible to him that with this man as leader and adviser there would be no difficulty in conjuring up sufficient causes for discontent wherewith to foment a second insurrection. Bishop Tache, also, who sized up Riel about as successfully as did the Major, said that Riel was afflicted with *megalomania*. And had the poor Metis known what that was, and that their good bishop had said that that was the

trouble with Riel, there probably would have been no second rebellion, and Riel might have died a natural and honourable death.

R. G. McBeath—afterwards Rev. McBeath—who also was in the campaign which it took to crush the second rebellion, and who also wrote a book, therein describes what happened; but on the question of the grievances of the Metis he is about as reticent as Major Bulton. He thought it possible that some politicians at Ottawa might be able to explain the uprising, and he left it at that.

It sometimes happens that a writer or speaker does not hew to the line because he conscientiously believes that it would not do any good to himself or anybody else, and that may be an explanation and justification for the reticence just referred to, in support of which the proverb may be quoted, "discretion is the better part of valour;" and the writer happens to know that there were those *in medias res* at the time of the second rebellion who held positive opinions as to its explanation; but directly abstained from telling what they knew except in confidence on the quiet.

There is before me now a letter from the Rev. John Hines, lately deceased, who at the time of the uprising in Saskatchewan was conducting an Anglican Mission among the Crees a short distance north of Carlton. In this letter Mr. Hines states in exact terms the reasons for which, not only the Metis, but English and Scottish settlers as well, felt deeply aggrieved over the treatment meted out to them by the Canadian Government and the Hudson's Bay Company. But as this letter was not intended for publication, I shall, by way of *medicating the chips*, only give it in the abstract.

This then was the situation. There were hundreds of mounted police in the country who needed large supplies of hay, oats, beef, butter, cord-wood and other things. And instead of calling for tenders for these supplies the representative Government officials in the country entered into contract with the Hudson's Bay Company as represented by one or more of their officials in Saskatchewan. This in itself was not an ideal arrangement, but as the ramifications of the business of one of the contracting parties corresponded with those of the other, it was conceded by all that

the Company alone was in a position to "deliver the goods" *when and where* they were needed; and inasmuch as said goods had to be procured from the settlers, who sometimes suffered for lack of a market, the arrangement would have been perfectly satisfactory, had the prices paid been satisfactory; but they were not; and that is where the shoe pinched. And no wonder, for the spread between the prices paid the settlers by the Company and the prices paid the Company by the Government was far too large; and none would suffer so keenly from this as the Metis who were sure to have an unsettled account in the Company's books, and when they turned over some produce to the Company at what was certainly a low price, had to have half the amount sliced off to help out their account. So when they called to mind the former days when some of them at Fort Garry had for months eaten gratis to the full of the Company's provisions, they evidently reasoned thus: If it was to be a case of resurrecting dead horses and slighting of our reasonable representations, then we will send for Riel, and see if he can help us out. It was a pitiful error of judgment into which they might not have fallen had they been a little more educated, for then with their common sense thus improved they might not have failed to see that in making Riel their leader they were heading for disaster.

Before dismissing the question of the causes of those Saskatchewan troubles of 1885, there is one more author from whose book—"The North-West and its Troubles"—I cannot forbear quoting just one sentence: "In co-habiting with the dusky womanhood of the plains, the trader has left us a legacy of mischief." I beg to take issue with Mr. Adam. At least, I would suggest that while he was in the retrospective mood, he need not have stopped short of the "Garden of the North-West," but might as well have gone right back to the Garden of Eden, where, to Mr. Adam, the lone bachelor in charge, the right line of procedure was indisputable and inescapable; and if in adapting himself to circumstances—cheerfully no doubt—it happened that he landed his progeny, Mercer included, into "mischief," it could not have been avoided, could it? But supposing though innocent, Adam the first could possibly have been so unappreciative of the charms of the mother of us all as to have taken a course the opposite of

the one he did, what then? When one condemns a certain course because its effects were unsatisfactory, it is just as well to think of possibly worse effects which might have followed the alternative course; and Mr. Adam himself has shown that there can be worse results than those following the union of a white fur-trader with a sprightly maiden of the prairies and forests, when he informs us of what occurred in Idaho, according to an alleged extract from the Journals of the Legislature of Idaho, which alleged extract it will be remembered is copied in an earlier part of this history. The relations which at that time and place could have led to the passing of such a resolution were not enviable, and "left a legacy" not desirable. Very unlike the other course which was at least natural and humane, and in many an instance has led to that which without the least desecration of the word can be characterized as *love*. And as such, it is a blood yet bloodless guarantee of the stability of a treaty—a rubicon whose crossing need never be regretted.

It would seem when Riel arrived in the Saskatchewan, that the fifteen years which had passed since the first rebellion had not had the effect of making him one whit humbler or wiser; nor is there any record of his having first endeavoured by legitimate and peaceful means to secure what his friends desired, before resorting again to the methods which savour of rebellion. Too quickly did he satisfy himself that there existed a *casus belli*, and too madly did he rush into war without considering what the end might be.

He made Batoche on the south Saskatchewan his headquarters, there being at that place a settlement of several hundred French. Without loss of time a public meeting was called, at which twelve councillors were elected and Gabriel Dumont chosen as military leader. In order to invest his own personality with the greater importance he renounced his allegiance with the Roman Catholic Church and changed his name to Lewis David Riel exovede, a significant manner of declaring that he exercised kingly and priestly powers second to none.

As in the former rebellion, leaving out the Indians, the numerical strength of English and French was about equal; but

in this case it was not even as practicable as in the former for anyone to take a neutral position. From the stand-point of the loyalists it was better that if a conflict could not be prevented, it should at least be delayed, because the deciding factor in the struggle was sure to be the arrival of assistance from Eastern Canada. So even while the relations between the English and French settlers were still quite friendly, on the part of the English it was a matter of diplomacy for the most part, while in regard to the French it was more a case of strategy.

It was at Fort Garry in 1869 when Riel was ruling there that on being reminded of the possible disapproval of Queen Victoria, he replied, "Her Majesty knows better than to get into trouble with me and the twelve nations at my back," a reference to the Indian tribes. And now he was attempting to give Her Majesty "a dressing" with the aid of the aforesaid twelve nations—to say the least—a rather unseemly undertaking. But as all is fair in war, tobacco had been sent to a number of chiefs, especially those of the Cree nation, and already some of them were on the war path.

Realizing, no doubt, the importance of striking quickly and before the Government could strengthen its position by a larger armed force, Riel had no sooner heartened up his men by the good things looted from the few stores which were accessible, than he sent to Major Crozier in charge of the mounted police at Carlton, demanding his surrender. He did not comply and a little later, eighty mounted police and thirty volunteers arrived from Prince Albert and he was able to "speak with his enemy in the gate" on a more equal footing.

Although Crozier and his men knew perfectly well that the war was already fully determined upon, and in fact, under way, they made a heroic attempt to dissuade the Metis from their purpose, telling them that the means they were using in the hope of improving their position, was the worst they could possibly adopt, and would be certain to involve themselves and their families in great misery.

In order to make these representations to the French, Major Crozier and Mr. Thomas McKay had taken their lives in their

hands. McKay spoke for both, and no doubt as he understood it, in the interests of the country at large, and being as great a master of the Cree as the French themselves, and also accustomed like them to intersperse his Cree with an occasional French phrase he put a finish and a force into his speech which produced a profound impression upon his audience; and Riel, noticing this, started a fiery oration in French which roused a few of his men to such a pitch of excitement that McKay came very nearly losing his life. At this interview Riel announced in no uncertain language the intentions of himself and the Metis. He said, "What we want is blood, blood, blood, and we are going to drive out the two curses of this country—the Government and the Hudson's Bay Company and all their sympathizers."

The first engagement occurred in March at Duck Lake. The Metis fought from cover, and were led by Gabriel Dumont who had had some military experience. The mounted police, assisted by the volunteers, were led by Major Crozier and stood out in the open. With this disadvantage their casualties were heavy consisting of twelve killed and twenty-four wounded. The result of the conflict was undecisive.

When the news of this engagement reached Manitoba and Eastern Canada, the Government at once issued a call for volunteers, to which a great many responded from all parts of the country, so that in a short time nine thousand were enlisted, a number which was considered quite sufficient to deal effectively with all or any who might dispute Queen Victoria's rule in the Saskatchewan and the North-West.

Among the recruits were many who had made the acquaintance of Riel during the first rebellion, who now on behalf of their sovereign and *themselves*, cheerfully undertook to do their part in teaching the Metis a lesson which had been too long delayed. Among such may be mentioned Major Boulton who had been court-martialed, sentenced to be shot and was afterwards pardoned; who, it will be remembered, when afterwards trying to secure like clemency for his fellow-prisoner, Scott, had reminded Riel that England was wont to follow into the remotest regions, and bring to justice, the slayer of any of her subjects.

When the rebellion started he was on his farm at Shell River, three hundred miles west of Winnipeg, and he at once offered to raise a body of mounted scouts. His offer was accepted, and he proceeded to enlist men with experience in frontier life, not forgetting the Portage volunteers—his former comrades and fellow-prisoners—perhaps not forgetting either, the question which, one of them had asked him at Headingly when he was opposing imprudence—"Does Major Boulton mean fight?"

General Middleton was entrusted with the conduct of the war, and reached Winnipeg March 27th. He left for the seat of war the same night with the 90th Rifles and the Winnipeg Field Battery.

The situation when he reached the Saskatchewan was about as follows: The Metis were securely entrenched at Batoche and nearby points on the South Saskatchewan. Along the North Saskatchewan further west, two noted Cree chiefs with their respective bands were engaged in marauding expeditions—Poundmaker in the vicinity of Battleford; and Big Bear in the vicinity of Fort Pitt.

General Strange was placed in charge of a column operating from Edmonton, and following the North Saskatchewan downstream to Fort Pitt, he thence struck northwards on the trail of Big Bear and his band. The second detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Otter operated on the left bank of the South Saskatchewan and working downstream, helped General Middleton, who approached Batoche more directly, gradually to round up the Metis and force them to a position where they would be either forced to surrender or fight to a finish.

The greater number of the Indians took no part in the contest, some because they were generally loyal to the "Great Mother," and others because they were waiting to see which side was going to win; and these, as soon as they noticed that the *Semakunissuk*, soldiers, were beginning to carry things before them, promptly got off the fence and became extremely loyal.

General Middleton first came in contact with the Metis at Fish Creek; and in the engagement which followed, twelve of his

men were killed. The Metis then withdrew to Batoche where a lot of underbrush and a number of ravines afforded means of practising the Indian method of fighting. For the first few days there was only scouting and desultory fighting while Middleton thoroughly studied the ground so as to decide on the plan of attack which would involve the smallest sacrifice of life, and it was not till the fourth day that a general charge was made and the place captured. The entire loss during the four days fighting was nine killed and forty-six wounded.

Before the final rush and surrender took place Riel sent a letter to General Middleton of which the purport was, that if given a guarantee of personal safety and a reward, he would leave his compatriots to settle their troubles with the authorities as best they could.

Shortly after the surrender, Riel was captured by scouts Tom Hourie and Armstrong, the former taking him up on his saddle, rode with him into camp and delivered him up to General Middleton, who lost no time in forwarding him to Regina.

Any fighting which occurred between the troops and Indians was of a guerilla character. The Indians wisely scattered and avoided a stand-up fight, and in consequence their pursuers got little chance to do them much harm. They, however, accomplished what was to be more desired—they compelled the surrender of Big Bear and Poundmaker.

Taking all things into consideration the conduct of the belligerent Crees belied the popular opinion that the Red Man is a demon of blood-thirstiness once he takes to the war path. When they knew that they were on the losing side, they fought rear-guard actions not so much to kill, as to delay their pursuers and secure the safety of their families; and when it had to be a case of surrender, the act there also was vicarious in character, so different from the conduct of the man who had led them into trouble, and then in the hour of extremity would have saved himself without regard to what it might cost his friends. And in regard to the atrocities committed on April 2nd at Frog Lake—the massacre of nine Whites among whom were the two Roman Catholic priests Marchand and Furford, we must remember that it was the

month before this that the prime mover in this war at Carlton placed such terrible emphasis on the word *blood*, and that almost immediately thereafter the first battle with the police and volunteers had occurred, and the poor Indians inspired by the spirit of the chief rebel, and desirous of showing that they too could do some killing, they made the bad beginning mentioned above; but they finished off better than Riel, even although they also had to pay the penalty of their deeds.

When the second rebellion occurred the writer was living at Fort Vermillion on the Peace River, where the first intimation of impending trouble reached us by the Christmas packet; and about the middle of March word reached us that it had actually begun; but when I left there in May to come south no further news had arrived. Travelling by scow to Fort Chippewyan and resting there a week did not find us any wiser; and we were still in the dark when we reached Portage la Loche per the Company's steamer; and coming on thence by York boat we had nearly reached Ile a la Crosse when we got our third budget of news which was to the effect that war was over, that Riel was a prisoner at last and that the Indians were surrendering.

Arriving at Green Lake, then an important depot for the north, we saw the first signs of the abnormal conditions which had existed in the Saskatchewan district. The Indians had looted the place, and although they did "the officer in charge" no harm they only left him in charge of empty buildings, while all around empty containers and cast-off garments spoke eloquently of what had happened—of Indian braves strutting around in the clothes intended for Chief-Factors and Bishops, and of their squaws showing off in the latest thing in skirts and bonnets.

In one respect the stores at Green Lake must have been rather disappointing to the Indians. There was neither ball nor shot to be found there. By way of precaution these had been dumped into a deep part of Green Lake, whence they were later recovered none the worse for their immersion.

Arriving at the north branch of the Saskatchewan River opposite where Fort Carlton had stood, we found a party of six French Half-breeds seated around their dinner fire, who with Red

River carts were once more freighting goods to Green Lake for the Hudson's Bay Company. They were ex-soldiers of Riel, and one of them belonged to a noted Peace River family which was still represented there. One had to be very chary in any reference to the recent war, particularly as one of them had striking evidence of the conflict stamped upon his body. He had his shirt off and was attending to a wound in the chest, and upon complimenting him upon being wounded in front instead of in the back he turned round and with a grin showed that he was wounded there as well, but, said he, "that is where the ball came out."

Passing over to the south of the river we stood for a space beside the graves of the brave mounted police who fell at the Duck Lake encounter.

When we came to Batoche we spent some time in examining the battle-scarred but still picturesque scenery of the spot where the greatest battle of the campaign had been fought. And our Jehu noticing that although men of peace we could not have been much more interested had we been men of war, he took the trouble to show us all that he knew and—sometimes perhaps—attempted a little more. He pointed out a hill over a mile distant from which shells had been fired and then examined with us the effects on a house which had been one of the unfortunate targets, and had had part of the roof knocked off and some of its rafters smashed into kindling.

A little further on we overtook three Metis women, and noticing nearby the charred remains of a house we asked for an explanation, and the tallest of the three who was a fine looking woman who carried herself as if she were a queen, replied that that was some of the work of the troops, and indignantly pronounced it an act of unnecessary destructiveness. Without expressing an opinion on that point, we assured them of our sympathy, and hoped that there were better times ahead.

In keeping with that hope we transferred our thoughts to more peaceful scenes; but not so our Jehu, who apparently had reserved his "best one" to the last; and not long after we had said *au revoir* to the French women, as we were passing a depression which extended far to the right he pointed in that direction and said:

"Down there is Red Lake, where Gabriel Dumont fooled the mounted police. They had chased him all the way from Batoche, and somewhere here he left the trail and struck off in that direction. When he reached the lake night was coming on, and the police were not far in the rear. Without pausing he dashed in and made for the middle of the lake where was a small island, where he safely landed just as his pursuers reached the lake. By this time it was night, and it was deemed the wiser course not to attempt his capture until morning on the assumption that he would still be on the island in the morning if his escape was prevented from the side on which he had entered; but when morning came the discovery was made that their quarry had not wasted time there, but crossing the island at once had taken to the water again and so had made his escape. A fine achievement on the part of the man; but not as noble as that of the horse."

My companion on this journey was Rev. John Garton, like the writer going out on a year's furlough. As bachelors we had both for the most part done our own cooking in the north; and we were glad to realize on arriving at the town of Qu'Appelle on the Canadian Pacific Railway that "there was to be no more roughing it" for at least some time; and the food in the hotel was to us like so much "angel's food." And if that was not enough to convince us that we had reached civilization, we were very soon better informed when we found we had reached a place where a *cache* was not provided, and that nothing less than *hard cash* would enable us to continue our journey. So forthwith we had to visit a bank, where we made the painful discovery that the people there did not take our cloth as a sufficient guarantee of honesty. But once we had established to their satisfaction that we were true men, agents of the Church Missionary Society working under the auspices of the Anglican Church, we only had to say "how much" and we got it.

"All that now remains to be told of the second rebellion is the unhappy end of Louis Riel. At the time of the first rebellion there was among Riel's prisoners one George H. Young, then a mere lad, who was a son of Rev. George Young who, as spiritual adviser, helped to prepare Thomas Scott to go to his death. It was George

Young, Jr., who was now Captain of the Winnipeg Field Battery, and the officer into whose charge Riel was given to be taken to Regina.

Captain Young received his orders in writing, which was to the effect that he was to take his prisoner to Regina and deliver him to the civil authorities there, and that if any attempt was made on the way at rescue, his first act was to be to shoot the prisoner. With this order he entered Riel's tent, and allowing him to read it, said, "Those are my orders and you can rely on my carrying them out."

After arriving at Regina, Riel renounced his independent religious stand, and returned to the Roman Catholic Church. At his trial his counsel took as their line of defence the plea of insanity, thereby incurring the displeasure of their client, who time and again during the trial bitterly inveighed against their manner of procedure; but notwithstanding the able defence on his behalf, and the opportunities which he forced to justify the course he had pursued, he was found guilty, and when at the last he was given the opportunity of pleading his desperate cause, he did so after his own dramatic fashion.

He is described as commencing to speak very quietly; then as he warmed up to his subject, his words came quicker and with increasing emphasis and gesture. Occasionally among a torrential flow of words he acted as if groping after some elusive idea, and then apparently as if he had found what he wanted, he would deliberately proceed to embellish it, rising to heights of eloquence which could not but make his listeners regret that he had not employed his talents to better purpose.

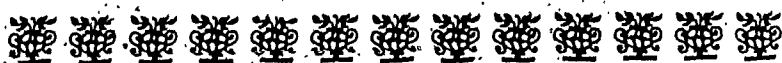
Despite the reasonable plea of his counsel and his remarkable oratory, he was sentenced to be hung at Regina on the 16th November, 1885.

Many were surprised at the composure with which he went to his death. He had not infrequently been pronounced a coward because of the character of many of his actions; but such an opinion is not sustained by the calm and dignified manner in which he went to his death. Arriving at the place of execution he

calmly mounted the steps leading to the scaffold, and on reaching there he asked the priest in attendance if he might say a few words to the people; but on being advised not to do so, he knelt and engaged in prayer, holding a crucifix which had been loaned him by Mrs. Forget, wife of the Governour of the North-West Territory. On rising from his devotions he handed the crucifix to his confessor, requesting him to hand it to the owner and to say for him, "Merci Madame Forget."

Rev. R. G. McBeath informs us in his book that he was present at his funeral, "and that it was touching to notice the grief of many of his compatriots, who evidently regarded him as a faithful friend."

His resting place in St. Boniface cemetery is marked by a pedestal upon which his friends with touchingly fine taste have caused simply the name to be inscribed—LOUIS RIEL.



CHAPTER NINETEEN

1885-1933

Concluding Chapter About Portage la Prairie

AT the time of Mr. George's death, a young missionary by the name of T. H. Canham was on his way from England to Peel River in the Diocese of Athabasca, and, having to pass a winter in Manitoba, he was placed in charge of St. Mary's until spring.

Mr. Canham was educated at the Church Missionary Society College, Islington, was ordained in 1880, was curate of Camperton, Cumberland winter of 1880-81, and after the winter at Portage la Prairie went north and was engaged in Indian work till 1916. He was made Archdeacon of Yukon in 1892.

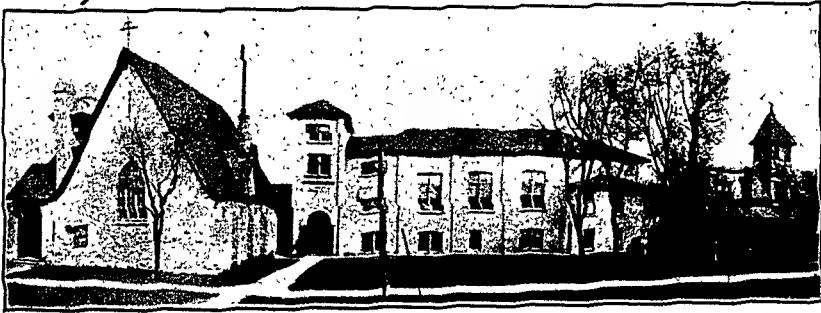
His brief pastorate at St. Mary's was highly appreciated. The school-chapel in town was soon overcrowded, and the Sunday services had to be held in the court-house. And when he left in spring he carried with him addresses and souvenirs from the congregation and Sunday School which were well fitted to cheer him on his way to his distant sphere of labour.

REV. A. L. FORTIN

The Rev. Alfred Louis Fortin was born September, 1840, at Iberville, P.Q., educated at Sebrevois College, St. John's, ordained deacon by Bishop Fulford, May 2nd, 1864, and priested at Sebrevois, July 8th, 1866. He served in different places in Eastern Canada till May, 1882, when, immediately following the departure of Mr. Canham from the Portage, he was stationed there by



ARCHDEACON PARKER
When Rector of St. Mary's Church,
Portage la Prairie



CHURCH, PARISH HALL AND RECTORY OF ST. MARY'S.
Portage la Prairie

Bishop Machray as pastor of St. Mary's Church, and remained in charge till March, 1885.

On taking charge Mr. Fortin continued to hold the Sunday services in the court-house, and the Sunday School in the little town school-chapel, while, in the meantime, the decision of the congregation was being carried out as to the building of a new church.

It was Mr. Fortin's misfortune to take charge of the parish the year following the period of inflated values known as the *boom*, which occurred in 1881. As the writer was at the time in Peace River where wars and booms disturbed not the peace, he falls back on a description of the boom supplied by the pen of the eloquent Rector of Holy Trinity, Winnipeg, Archdeacon Fortin, who was a brother of the Rector of St. Mary's.

Archdeacon Fortin wrote thus for my benefit: "It was a time of rapid growth accompanied with great restlessness and ever changing conditions. Many doubtful ventures were launched in church as well as in other directions. Many were overtaken by disappointments and disaster. There were many failures, and finally when the bubble burst, a period of gloom and discouragement settled upon the country for a time.

"Readjustments were necessary. The old dreams of fabulous wealth through inflated values became only a distant memory. People once more faced solid realities. Happily with the buoyancy which is characteristic of the North-West, the people soon displayed a courage and resourcefulness which surmounted all difficulties. Losses were forgotten. Only a boundless faith in the country survived. A valuable lesson had been learned, namely, that honest work is the surest avenue to success."

At the time of the boom there were in Portage la Prairie about fifty families belonging to the Anglican Church, and while minister and congregation agreed that a larger church was needed, its construction was delayed for some time by a difference of opinion as to the most suitable site. This point was however, eventually settled, and a site secured on Ann Street, near Saskatchewan Avenue, which is about one third of a mile northwest of the school-chapel on Crescent Lake Road.

The second church of St. Mary's decided upon was a frame building with a seating capacity of four hundred, a reasonable size considering that the population of the town was 3,500, and as churches are supposed to be built with an eye to the future, all the satisfaction of having built them is not to be expected now. This church from the start was found to be ill designed for giving satisfaction, being far too large for the congregation who could not stand the cost of keeping it properly heated in winter. On the whole the congregation had dealt very unsuccessfully "in futures" in connection with this second church. Backed up by reputation and a mortgage it is easy to build a church, but paying off the mortgage often feels like another affair entirely, and in this case several of the parishioners had to sign a bond whereby they became *individually and collectively responsible*. Some of the guarantors had not sufficiently studied the bond before signing; but when the unsuitableness of the church built came to be known they were very soon appraised of what they had done, and there soon existed a financial situation which Mr. Fortin felt could better be handled with an Incumbent who was perfectly innocent of having helped to create it.

Apart from the foregoing unsuccessful venture of faith, St. Mary's Church made good spiritual and social progress during his three years pastorate; and in the rendering of the services there was also a pleasing advance in the occasional singing of an anthem, a solo or a duet:

Both Mr. and Mrs. Fortin were of a genial and friendly nature, and in their intercourse with the members of the congregation never showed a tendency to class distinction.

To Mrs. Fortin belongs the honour of having organized the first Ladies' Aid in St. Mary's Parish. She was its President, and in that capacity laboured faithfully and acceptably during the time of her stay. She laboured so wisely as a sister in her church home that its members reciprocated; and unconsciously her five young children—Marie, Maud, Rachel, Daisy and Charles, became their dear friends, so that when Mr. Fortin tendered his resignation, relations all round had become so pleasant that it was received with sincere regret.

After Mr. Fortin's resignation the parish remained vacant for one year, during which interval the pulpit supply was arranged from St. John's College from Sunday to Sunday. Among those who helped in this way were the following: Reverends Archdeacon Fortin, Dean Grisdale, Alfred Cowley, Archdeacon Pinkham, Canon Coombes. Towards the end of this interval Rev. A. S. H. Windsor took charge tentatively; but as he and the congregation failed to agree upon a style of conducting the service which would be mutually satisfactory, they agreed to part, which they did on the best of terms after he had been in charge for a few weeks.

PASTORATE OF C. N. F. JEFFERY

When the one year interval just referred to had elapsed Bishop Machray had presided twenty years over the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and among those who had received holy orders at his hands during that period, about the last one was the gentleman just named, who after one year's experience as a clergyman was appointed by Bishop Machray to take charge of St. Mary's.

Rev. C. N. F. Jeffery was born December 3, 1860, at Newport, Hans County, Nova Scotia. He received his early training in the Avondale Public School, and afterwards studied four years in Mount Allison Wesleyan College at Sackville, New Brunswick. At St. John's College, Manitoba, he took the degree of B.D., and at the Manitoba University the degree of B.A., and a year subsequently that of M.A. He took a post graduate course at the General Theological Seminary, New York. He was ordained Deacon, September 29, 1884 and Priest, May 31, 1885, by Bishop Machray in both cases. His first charge was Clear Water, Rock Lake, Manitoba, where he remained one year. He was appointed Rector of St. Mary's, Portage la Prairie, May 16, 1886, and he resigned August 15, 1887. During the following eleven years he held various charges in the United States, among them that of Archdeacon of Watauga, North Carolina. Returning to Canada he was missionary at Fort Francis, Ontario, September, 1898 to January, 1901, and returning to Rupert's Land Diocese after the fourteen years accounted for as above, and ending 1901, he received the appointment of Secretary Treasurer and General Missionary for the Diocese of Rupert's Land, a position which

he still holds in this year of grace 1933. He has held this important position, first under Archbishop Machray, then under Archbishop Matheson, and is continuing now under Archbishop Stringer.

Archdeacon Jeffery obligingly supplied me with some reminiscences of his pastorate at St. Mary's, which I used in full in a previous book, and from which I cull an extract or two for insertion in this.

Evidently the depression which followed the boom and was still keenly felt, did not adversely affect the spirit in which the young Incumbent set about his work as he was able to write "that there was associated with it some of the pleasantest memories of his life." Of the financial condition he was able to write that "an honourable and equitable solution had been effected."

There had been a readjustment of assets and mortgages, whereby the new mortgage on the church was reduced to \$1,000. Regarding encouragements he wrote:

"For the repairs and improvements made in the church fabric during my time, the credit must be given in large part to the Ladies' Aid Society of the parish under the able presidency of Mrs. P. V. Georgen. . . . During the latter part of my rectorship the choir of St. Mary's attained a high degree of proficiency under the direction of the late Mr. Charles Burley.

"Two men must be mentioned here for their valuable services in the office of warden, the late Mr. George H. Webster, and the late Mr. William Garland, and another, the late Mr. William Keyes, in the office of superintendent of the Sunday School.

"Among the laymen who in my day gave strength to the parish were a number of the officers of the Manitoba and North-Western Railway. Nor must I fail to mention the presence with us of some splendid types of the men of the olden time. Men like John and Gavin Garrioch and Malcolm and Charles Cummings. To know these men was to admire and love them.

"Most of those I have mentioned have passed to the Great Beyond. They have finished their course. They have kept the faith.' My best wish for St. Mary's will perhaps be this, that the

parish may never want a succession of such faithful and true men to serve in the various offices and work of the church."

Regarding Mr. Keyes, whose death occurred March 15, 1906, the writer would add that, owing to his friendly manner, unassuming piety and life-long interest in Sunday School work, he got to be as highly esteemed as he was widely known, of which many evidences were furnished in the press notices which drew attention to his death. From these I shall single out just one which was a motion of condolence passed by the Synod of Rupert's Land and transmitted to his wife and family. The following was the closing sentence of this resolution: "We thank God for the exalted Christian character which he exemplified, the unselfish devotion he exhibited, and the splendid influence for God and righteousness and purity which he ever exerted."

PASTORATE OF REV. CANON S. MACMORINE

Rev. Canon S. Macmorine, M.A., was born September, 1847, at Almonte, Ontario. His father was for over twenty years pastor of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church at Almonte. He was educated chiefly by private tutors. He entered Queen's University in 1861 and graduated a B.A., May 7, 1865, and received his M.A. in 1872 from the same University. For five years thereafter he served in the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. Later he joined the Anglican Church, being made deacon October 28, 1874, and priest November 7, 1875. Between 1874 and 1888 he held different appointments in Eastern Canada, but in the last-named year he came west and became Rector of St. Mary's Church, Portage la Prairie.

Through a wise readjustment of its assets by Bishop Machray and his advisers, the parish of St. Mary's was in a better financial position in 1888 when Mr. Macmorine took charge than at any time since the building of the second church, yet by no means in an enviable position; for although its sole liability was a mortgage for twelve hundred dollars, unfortunately that sum was upon a church much too large, costly to maintain and considered unsafe; and although it was made to answer during the first nine years of his incumbency, it was authoritatively condemned as unsafe in 1897,

just two months after the final payment on the above mortgage had been made.

The building of a safe and suitable church had therefore to be undertaken, and clergyman and congregation at once set to work to this end with the result that a stone church, neat and ecclesiastical in style was erected at a cost of \$8,200.00, and opened January 1, 1899. Its seating capacity is two hundred and fifty.

This was the second church built by Mr. Macmorine during his incumbency. The first was a neat little chapel erected in 1890 within a few yards of the site of the church built by Archdeacon Cochrane. It was built chiefly to accommodate some of the remaining members of his congregation who were still located on the Assiniboine at an inconvenient distance from the town church. In the same year the building on Crescent Lake Road which served as school and chapel was sold for \$250.

For many of the particulars contained in this sketch the writer is indebted to Miss Sybil Macmorine, a daughter of Mr. Macmorine, and what she wrote regarding her father's pastorate might be taken as fairly typical of the Christian ministry in general. She wrote: "The clergyman's work is a silent one, invaluable and beyond all estimation. One strong proof of the existence of God is that goodness always touches people, and goodness is of God. . . . Testimonials," she wrote, "come sometimes unexpectedly and suddenly, as when a young Englishman, a clergyman's son himself, remarked, 'he was more of a Dad to me than ever my own father was'." I am happy to paraphrase this remark with the statement that in the brotherhood of the Christian Ministry the young Englishman's Hon. Dad was in practical ways one of the most brotherly with whom I had to do.

From the position which Mr. Macmorine held in Portage la Prairie it will be seen that his good qualities were appreciated, and that he was regarded as a man whose intellectual endowments fitted him to be a leader in educational work as well as strictly religious work. So we find him for many years a member of the Portage School Board, and during the last years of his life, its chairman. He was a member of the University Council, and of

the Executive of the Diocese. As Rural Dean of the Deanery of Portage la Prairie he did important pioneering work in the surrounding country; and it was a well merited distinction when, a few years previous to his death he received the appointment of Honorary Canon of St. John's Cathedral.

Miss Macmorine has remarked that the clergyman's work is a silent one, and I would add, it is also very much unseen, for spiritual results which are the *only real ones*, cannot be correctly estimated in church fabric or church funds. Well therefore may we be disposed to give precedence in this matter to those things which more directly aim at spiritual results, such for instance as the more devout and frequent use of the means of grace, and anyone who, like his daughter, knew of Canon Macmorine's reverent manner in the sanctuary, or at any time when ministering in holy things, had an example of the proper demeanour of a soul athirst after the living God. And, no doubt, it was thus that she received those conceptions of God and His service which enabled her to write of a mission held in St. Mary's parish in 1895 by Bishop Burne of Qu'Appelle: "Anyone who had the privilege of attending that mission will have a very real recollection of it, and of the true Saint of God who conducted it. I remember as a child being impressed by that man as I had never been before."

It is no easy matter for any Christian to place the dividing line just where it should be between sincerity in one's religion and a liberal enjoyment of the good things of the present life. This, it would seem to me, is very much a matter of personal opinion and conscience. Canon Macmorine was not one of those who obtrude their religious views upon others; but his practice certainly did not encourage the austere idea that in this vale of tears holiness of life forbade laughter, song and rejoicing. For these reasons he was to men of good will one of the most delightful of companions I have ever known, and the following words I cheerfully endorse, as no doubt did the others who heard them. They were spoken by Postmaster Millar on the occasion of the opening of the Portage Collegiate in 1908. Mr. Millar occupied the chair, and in introducing Canon Macmorine as the next speaker, he said: "He needs no introduction. We all know the Canon, and we love him." Some people somehow convey the

impression that they are never themselves, because they have distorted their personalities with the borrowed mannerisms of others. To no man could such behaviour be more impossible than to Mr. Macmorine who conveyed to all who had to do with him the impression that it was not in him to be otherwise than natural and genuine. During the last three years of his life I was much in his company and have reason to say that he was wonderfully endowed with the heaven-bestowed gift of sympathy.

By a strange ordering of events which was other than my own, after what might be called a good many years in the wilderness, that is to say, after having been seventeen years a missionary to the Indians of Peace River in the Diocese of Athabasca, I found myself in the year 1891, once more at home in Portage la Prairie, that spot on earth on which I had grown up, and to which I had become so firmly rooted and grounded that it seemed to me as if it were the one place in the whole world in which it was desirable to work, and in which it could be really pleasant to rest; so while resting there awhile I looked around for work. This resulted in my becoming Incumbent at Rapid City for three years, followed by the like position at Poplar Point for six years; and during this nine-year period, I ministered in all to twenty-three small congregations, and wore out three good horses and as many vehicles, at the same time, I believe, treating persons and things as considerately as myself.

After the fore-mentioned experiences I naturally favoured concentration rather than expansion, and because of the attachment already mentioned decided to concentrate with Portage as my headquarters, operating from there as a new charge to be named High Bluff, the parishes of High Bluff and Oakville and the Dale and Salem centres. Bishop Machray was very sympathetic, but had to guard against establishing the precedent of a clergyman living outside of where his duties lay. Canon Macmorine, however, took up this matter as though he did not stand to lose by giving me the benefit of his influence. And it was not long till he returned from a meeting of the Executive, and smilingly he said, "Well, we've got all that fixed. A new mission named High Bluff has been formed, for which an annual grant of \$350.00 is allowed, and you are to remain in charge

of the work in the territory which it covers, and to take charge of the Chapel of St. Mary's and replace me in serving as Chaplain to the Anglicans in The Home for the Aged and Infirm and the Boys' Training School. And when he had reckoned up the certain and potential receipts from these various sources and found that they totalled about \$850.00, which was more than I had received at Poplar Point, his satisfaction was quite equal to my own, and I am sure was not one whit the less because that in order to find me an income of the prospective amount just named he had reduced his own by at least \$250.00. A man with an income no bigger than his, who could do such a thing deserves to have his name held in everlasting remembrance, and if he for whom it was done could ever forget it, well might his name sink into everlasting oblivion.

Canon Macmorine resigned charge of St. Mary's Parish early in 1909, and shortly thereafter was suddenly prostrated with an attack of appendicitis, and although promptly operated on he died a few days afterwards.

The pipe organ still in use in St. Mary's Church was installed by a few members of the congregation, including Mr. Charles Burley the organist.

Some of the practices introduced by Canon Macmorine were considered rather high, although from the average opinion of churchmen at this date they were just about right. The wearing of surplices by the choir came into use in his time.

When his death became known, on all sides were to be heard expressions of sorrow. His funeral was conducted by Archbishop Matheson, and his body was laid to rest in the Anglican cemetery among those of the parishioners resting in that peaceful God's acre.

At the suggestion of his successor, Canon Parker, the congregation fittingly expressed its appreciation of his service of love, by placing in the chancel as a memorial of his pastorate a beautifully carved oak Communion table, Reredos and two chairs to match, of the same material.

PASTORATE OF REV. J. I. STRONG

Canon Macmorine's resignation was followed by an interval of four months during which the Sunday services were mostly conducted by Rev. W. A. Fyles, at the time Superintendent of Sunday Schools, and a resident in the city.

During this interval the parishioners promptly took steps to fill the vacant rectorship. To this end a nominating Committee of three was appointed, consisting of Colonel Anstruther, J. O. Cadham and W. S. Garrioch. Later this committee was increased to seven. Names of a number of clergymen were submitted to this committee by Archbishop Matheson. These were considered, and in the course of negotiations the committee from time to time reported to a meeting of the parishioners with the result that the final meeting for this purpose was called for April 20th. At this meeting the committee as before recommended Rev. J. I. Strong of Carberry, and the congregation approving the choice, Archbishop Matheson confirmed it in June, 1909.

J. I. Strong was born at St. Columin Co., Two Mountains, P.Q., May 3rd, 1869. His education was commenced in the public school of a neighbouring district. Later he studied in the La Chute Academy, after which he studied five years in McGill University, and at the same time took a divinity course in the Diocesan Theological College of Montreal. He was ordained deacon in May, 1893, and priested in June, 1894. He held two separate appointments in the Diocese of Montreal. In 1907 he was for six months Incumbent at St. Paul's, Shoal Lake, Diocese of Rupert's Land. Then for two years he was rector of St. Agnes Carberry, Diocese of Rupert's Land. From June, 1909 to April, 1911 he was rector of St. Mary's, Portage la Prairie.

Mr. Strong's short pastorate at St. Mary's followed a progressive period in the history of Portage la Prairie. Incorporated as a town in 1880, it acquired the status of a city in 1907, at which date its population was 6,609. The installing of the water works in 1905-06, and the location of the Grand Trunk Railway yards just west of the city, helped to make times good in trade and labour. And this general prosperity was reflected in the revenue of the parish, the report for the year ending March 31st, 1910, showing

that receipts amounted to \$4,932.20, \$486.16 of this going to the Synod and \$620.17 for repairs to the Sunday School and Rectory, and to defray cost of adding a sleeping balcony to the latter.

At this time the moving of the chapel from the river to the east end of the city was being seriously discussed; and had the plan been carried out a grant of \$350.00 would have been obtained from the Synod. Perhaps it is just as well that this plan was not generally favoured, for between the city failing to grow as it was expected to do, and the parent church being confronted with the necessity of very soon engaging in a costly building programme in the interests of its expanding Sunday School and social activities, it would have been ill advised under those circumstances, to have diverted from the main centre any support either financial or moral.

At the Easter meeting of 1910, when he had been ten months in charge, Mr. Strong stated that he considered the work had been successful from the spiritual as well as the financial viewpoints. He stated that there were two hundred and forty families besides a number of young people on the visiting list; that he had performed fifty baptisms, fifteen marriages and sixteen funerals. The Sunday School report for the same year showed that there were thirteen teachers, two officers and one hundred and fifty-five scholars.

When Mr. Strong had been for twenty months rector of St. Mary's, he was offered the rectorship of St. Alban's Pro-Cathedral in the Diocese of Saskatchewan, and in a letter of February 4, 1911, he resigned from St. Mary's in order to accept this position.

In the last month of Mr. Strong's rectorship, April, 1911, the duplex envelope was introduced. He made no other important changes, and in his manner of conducting the church services he avoided innovations, leaving the services very much as he had found them. He was satisfactory in the pulpit and his energy was extended to the Sunday School in which he encouraged the Superintendent, Mr. H. J. Hughes, who for a good many years had devoted his time and no mean talents to this important branch of church work.

PASTORATE OF REV. D. T. PARKER

Following the usual course, already described, a nominating committee was entrusted with the responsibility of finding a suitable candidate for the vacant rectorship, and this committee having reported in favour of Rev. D. T. Parker, his appointment was confirmed by the unanimous vote of the parishioners.

Rev. D. T. Parker was born of Irish parentage on March 17, 1875, in Trinity Parish, Lakefield, Province of Quebec. He prepared for the University at Lachute Academy, graduating in arts from McGill University in 1902. He graduated from the Montreal Theological College and was ordained to the Diaconate in Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal on Trinity Sunday, 1904, and was priested in December of the same year. His first charge was that of assistant to Archdeacon Naylor in the parish of Clarendon, Diocese of Montreal. In July of the following year, he took charge of the parish of Shoal Lake, Manitoba. From April, 1907 to March, 1909 he filled the position of curate in Holy Trinity Church, Winnipeg. He was next rector at Elgin until April, 1911, at which date he accepted the rectorship of St. Mary's, taking charge of the Sunday services for the first time on April 30th. On May 2nd he presided at a meeting of the Vestry, which was at the time composed of the following members: Minister's Warden, Mr. W. S. Garrioch; People's Warden, Mr. J. Hoover Lawrence; Vestrymen, Messrs. J. O. Cadham, J. O'Reilley, R. Brooker, Sam Thomson, George Garnier, Stratton Whitaker, S. Bonny, W. G. Bedman and H. J. Hughes.

When Mr. Parker took charge the building used for Sunday School and social purposes was the one constructed out of the second church by joining together the transepts and chancel. The church organizations at the time besides the Sunday School were, the Ladies' Aid, Women's Auxiliary, Girls' W. A., and the Brotherhood of St. Andrew's.

By this time the mortgage indebtedness on the church had been reduced to \$2,500, and the church finances were in good condition. It was, however, felt that better results ought to accrue from the envelope system, and to this end a thorough canvass of the parish was made following a visit of a Mr. R. W. Allin. This

canvass resulted in the offertories being more than doubled; and it would be strange indeed if such an improvement in the finances of a church could not be regarded as indicative, at the very least, of a sincere desire for spiritual improvement; and in this instance there was additional reason for believing such to be the case, for immediately following the financial advance of 1911, there followed diligent preparation for a "Mission of Help." And this was held in the month of October, 1912. The missionary was Rev. Dr. Robinson, Warden of St. John's College, who is still thankfully remembered by those who had the opportunity of listening to his earnest addresses.

By this time the Sunday School had so outgrown the capacity of the Parish Hall that Mrs. Parker, wife of the Rector, who was in charge of the primary department of sixty-five children, was obliged to move with them to the rectory drawing-room, an arrangement not desirable for this reason among others—that it was an open question at the time as to which building most needed to be replaced by another, the rectory or the parish hall.

In order to unify opinions regarding the inevitable building programme a meeting of the congregation was held. At this meeting there was unanimity of opinion as to the wisdom of not attempting more than one building at a time, and the parishioners in a spirit which must have been gratifying to their rector, were in favour of building the rectory first. Mr. Parker, however, took the stand that a new parish hall was the more needed and the more important of the two buildings, and that for the time being the other had better be left in abeyance. With such an example the parishioners threw an ardour into the building of a new hall, which otherwise might have been lacking. The erection of a large and substantial hall received general and substantial support. Plans and estimates were submitted by Messrs. Bedman and Osborne, and when all details had been satisfactorily arranged, the supervision of the work was entrusted to Mr. Osborne.

A canvass was made of the parish and about \$8,000 was secured in cash and notes. As the old parish hall occupied the ground needed for the new one it was sold to the School Board for \$300 and was at once moved to the East Ward School where it

has ever since served as an annex. The first sod for the new parish hall was turned on the 12th July, 1913, and in August the corner stone was laid by His Grace Archbishop Matheson, assisted by the local Masonic lodge. The building was finished in the early winter, and the primary department of the Sunday School moved into it on November 23rd, and two weeks later, Sunday, 7th December, the main school did so also, they having used the basement of the T. A. Garland store, just across the street, while the hall was being erected. The Parish Hall and furnishings cost \$17,000, and the parish had met this mainly by means of a \$15,000 mortgage placed on all the church property, it being expected that this would be paid off as quickly as the parishioners' notes fell due. However, the year 1914 was one of general financial depression, which together with the outbreak of the World War* made it impossible to realize to any great extent on these notes, and the general feeling of uncertainty and unrest due to the foregoing causes made the situation serious enough; but the congregation with splendid faith and courage were resolved that *Deo favente*, they would do as they had planned. To this end overdrafts in the local banks were first disposed of, and then the mortgage was taken in hand to such good purpose that in the beginning of the year 1922 the total indebtedness of the parish did not exceed \$7,000; and it was hoped that within three years the parish would be free of debt. With the Parish Hall to pay for, the congregation of St. Mary's was not likely to turn down any honest way of making \$100, so on March 13th, 1916, the chapel built by Canon Macmorine was sold for that sum—all but the bell—and the purchaser pulled it down and carted it away. The building had not been used for years, and was being abused by some who visited it, and to practical and even to some devout minds that seemed to be ample justification for disposing of it.

The data supplied in the foregoing brought the account of Canon Parker's pastorate only up to the year 1923, and writing now in 1933 I find it necessary to add a little more in order to complete the account of his pastorate, which extended over

*During the trying years of the war one hundred and five enlisted from St. Mary's, of whom twenty paid the supreme sacrifice. A suitable honour roll bearing the names of all these is to be seen in the church.

seventeen and a half years. For this purpose I have been in communication with Canon Parker, in order to insure my statements being both positive and accurate. His pastorate concluded in September, 1928, and from Portage he went at once to take charge of St. Paul's, Fort Garry, Winnipeg. The debt on the church property at his departure had been reduced to \$1,200. This was accomplished largely through the united support of all the parish officials and organizations, among whom special mention may be made of the wardens, J. A. Marshal and R. A. Price, who like most of the other church officials were likewise associated with the Men's Club, an organization of which it might be said that its inception was coincident with that of the parish hall, wherein it held its enjoyable meetings, and in many ways demonstrated the practical advantages of having such a building. In the parish hall the Sunday School was carried on at a great advantage for a good many years under the able superintendency of Mr. H. J. Hughes assisted by a staff of thirty-five teachers and officers. The average attendance was two hundred and fifty. Mr. Hughes resigned in 1924 and was succeeded by Mr. J. W. Ramez, a gentleman thankfully remembered by the writer for valuable assistance rendered while in charge of the chapel by the river; and who, as I would have expected, has never grown weary of the work; for with all his old-time dependableness, ability and zeal, he continues the work to this day in the much more important and exacting position of superintendent of the parent Sunday School.

In 1920 Archbishop Matheson bestowed on Rev. D. T. Parker a well merited honour by appointing him an honorary Canon of St. John's Cathedral, an honour probably as gratifying to his people as to himself, for the relations between him and the congregation as a whole were of a very pleasing character, and when he tendered his resignation it was accepted with extreme regret. And the writer takes pleasure in stating on reliable authority that the parishioners of St. Paul's, Fort Garry, consider themselves very fortunate in the appointment of Canon Parker as their pastor and that they are cheerfully co-operating with him so as to make the promising suburb of Winnipeg in which they live a stronghold of truth and righteousness.

Since the foregoing was written Archbishop Matheson's successor as Bishop of Rupert's Land, Archbishop Stringer, has promoted Canon Parker to the position of Archdeacon.

RECTORSHIP OF REV. W. J. MINTO SWAN

Mr. Swan was appointed to the rectorship of St. Mary's in April, 1929, by Archbishop Matheson; and he came straight from his home town, Toronto, to fill the position. In his studies in the University of Toronto he had conferred on him the degree of B.A. in 1922; following this up he received his M.A. in the University of Nova Scotia in 1924, and the degree of B.D. from the General Synod in 1926. He was admitted to Holy Orders in 1923, and during the next six years served at St. James' Cathedral and St. Olave's Church, Toronto.

Mr. Swan's first year at Portage was the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of St. Mary's Church, and very fittingly, he and the congregation signalized the event by raising the twelve hundred dollars necessary to free the church of its mortgage liability on its buildings. During his pastorate the budget system was introduced. Also an additional church organization, viz: "The Anglican Young People's Association," a product from the east, we might say, planted on trial at Portage la Prairie. Another accessory to the parochial machinery which owes its inception to Mr. Swan's enterprise is St. Mary's Parish Magazine. This is an attractive little periodical which was ably edited by the Rector, who, in the last number edited by him wrote: "It has been successful from every point of view, being of great financial assistance to the church. It has presented many things of value to its readers."

Mr. Swan continued to good purpose the connection established by usage or otherwise between St. Mary's and the small mission centres in the neighbourhood. One of these was High Bluff. The cyclone of 1922 had moved the little church there off its foundation, and church work at that point practically came to a dead stand for nine years. Then appearances being more propitious, a renewal of church work at the old stand was mooted, and under the influence and leadership of Mr. Swan the church was provided with

a secure foundation and repaired. Then the fourteen families through whose assistance this had been achieved became a duly constituted Anglican congregation by the election of officials; and arrangements were made for continuing the Sunday services and Sunday School.

Oakville, fourteen miles east of Portage la Prairie may be mentioned as another centre which was benefitted by a helping hand from Mr. Swan, he supplied there a three o'clock Sunday service and co-operated with the congregation with the result that its church was provided with a basement, a want for some time keenly felt.

While Mr. Swan, in addition to his duties as rector of St. Mary's was assisting the forenamed parishes in the manner stated he received the offer of the rectorship of the parish of St. Mark's in the city of Vancouver. He accepted, and his services as rector of St. Mary's terminated in January, 1932.

PASTORATE OF REV. P. C. BAYS.

The parents of Percy Clarence Bays were English born, and English bred until reaching adult age. Their migration to this country took place about that time, and shortly after reaching Winnipeg they were married by Archdeacon Fortin in Holy Trinity Church; their son, Percy, at present rector of St. Mary's, was born on Bannatyne Avenue, August 10, 1884. When he had reached the age of seven his parents returned to England; and nineteen years later, when he had reached the age of twenty-six, Mr. Bays, Jr., returned to the land of his nativity, accompanying Archdeacon Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of Saskatchewan; and under him he trained for the next five years for the ministry, part of that time learning to endure hardship by ministering to outlying districts. In 1915, the second year of the World War, he enlisted and went overseas, where he remained until the war was over. Returning in 1919, he finished his theological course at Emanuel College, where he took the degree of L.Th., and in 1920 he was admitted to deacon's orders by Bishop Newman, and in 1921 was priested by the same at Saskatoon. Since his return from England he has served at the following appointments:

A large mission northwest of Prince Albert, 1920 to 1922.

Keewatin, in the Diocese of Keewatin, 1922 to 1925.

Poplar Point, Diocese of Rupert's Land, 1925 to 1927.

Manitou, Diocese of Rupert's Land, 1927 to 1931.

December, 1931, his pastorate at St. Mary's commences.

Of the condition and prospects there, he writes as follows:

"I find a good church built of stone, in splendid shape and free of debt, a magnificent Parish Hall second to none in the Diocese I would imagine. We have about three hundred and twenty-five families connected with the Church, and a Sunday School of two hundred and fifty children. They are an enthusiastic lot of people and very loyal. We enjoy working upon foundations so well and truly laid."

PORTAGE SCHOOL TEACHERS FROM 1851 TO 1870

In the days of the Hudson's Bay Company regime, when the Anglican Church was dividing the settlement along the banks of the Red River and Assiniboine into parishes, the three important personages in each of these divisions were the clergyman, the clergyman's wife and the school-teacher and, perhaps, the honours should have been more equally divided. And it was with this idea that the list at the end of chapter six was given, and with the same idea a brief sketch here follows of the parish school-teachers of Portage la Prairie who taught there within the period above mentioned.

The first name on this list is that of Peter Garrioch, whose name is also to be found on the list of the teachers in St. John's parish; and in Archdeacon Cochrane's statement that the first two settlers to locate in Portage la Prairie went up in 1851, this same Peter Garrioch was included although not mentioned by name; and it is the same when previous to this, in reporting to the Church Missionary Society he mentioned a school kept open during the winter of 1851-52 through the kindness of Bishop

The original archdeaconries were Assiniboia and Cumberland; but after repeated reductions in the size of the original diocese these names became misleading, and during the episcopate of Archbishop Matheson were changed to Winnipeg and Selkirk.

Anderson. After teaching in St. John's parish Mr. Garrioch went south to study at Kenyon College, Knox, Ohio, but on his way thither was detained at St. Peter's, now St. Paul, so he put in the winter there, 1837-38, teaching school. And in the spring he resumed his journey to Kenyon College, where he studied one year, over zealously, perhaps, for his eyes began to give him trouble. A change of occupation being thus suggested, he entered the service of an American fur-trading company and for over a year was engaged as one of its agents in the Missouri country. After this he returned to the Red River Settlement, where he put in a period of some ten years mostly at the old homestead.

At the close of this period he entered the matrimonial estate by taking to wife one Miss Margaret McKenzie, the daughter of a noted American fur-trader, whose acquaintance he had made while he was himself in that business. It was soon after his marriage that he moved to Portage la Prairie, being one of the two first settlers to locate there; and under an arrangement with Archdeacon Cochrane in the same year, 1851, he commenced the first school to be held there. For over a year school was held at Mr. Garrioch's own place; but in 1853 a larger building was erected one mile further east, about one-fourth mile from where the church was to be, and in this larger building he continued to teach until 1856.

He was a competent teacher, and with his observant mind and wealth of experience, and being also a gifted conversationalist with a philosophic streak, he made the task of learning to a considerable extent non-laborious.

In 1859 Mr. Peter Garrioch was succeeded by Mr. Henry Larondé. I find this gentleman's name occur in Mr. Healy's book, "Women of the Red River," page 87, where Miss J. Bannerman describing the Anglican schools of St. John's parish under Bishop Anderson, is thus quoted: "Some Roman Catholics attended school; among them Margaret Laclair and her brother Joseph, Emile Bouvette, Ambroise Fisher, Henry Laronde, Baptiste Beauchemin."

Henry Laronde was equally at home in either French or English. As to his creed I can only say that while at Portage la

Prairie he gave every sign of being a good Anglican. In passing I would remark that as Christianity is the following of "the Truth and the Light," of all people Christians should be the greatest friends of enlightenment—the first to remove the shutters and when truth knocks at the door, the first to throw it open and bid him enter. There should be no barriers whatsoever against Christian education whensoever and wheresoever it can be obtained, that is, so long as it is *Christian education* minus the human kinks.

Henry Laronde was a thoroughly good sport, and in a foot-race or a game of "bat and ball" he excelled all the boys. Owing to his friendliness he was well liked, and there was general regret in the community when, after having taught about two years, he tendered his resignation. Shortly after leaving Portage and the teaching profession he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, being appointed to a position in Moose Factory where it was said he became a rich man, that is, according to the ideas of wealth prevailing in those days.

The next teacher, first cousin of the writer, was Benjamin McKenzie. He too, was a graduate of St. John's Collegiate School. He was a contemporary student with Laronde and came to Portage equally recommended, and with the advantage of some previous experience in teaching. He taught for three years, and during the winter of the last—1860-61, he and Rev. Thomas Cochrane conjointly held a third session in the school-house, in the form of a night school for adults. His love of neatness was noticeable on himself and no less so in his white-washed cottage and the little farm and garden which he operated in person.

In 1861 about ten families left Portage la Prairie, and among them was Mr. McKenzie. The others were Whitfords, Andersons, and Houses. They loaded up their belongings on Red River carts and treked westward to Victoria Settlement which is on the north bank of the north Saskatchewan, one hundred miles east of Edmonton. In the community there Mr. McKenzie was highly respected, the neighbours often bringing their misunderstandings to him to have them amicably adjusted. After a stay there of several years he returned to Red River Settlement, which by

then had become a part of the province of Manitoba. Once more he became a student at St. John's College, and after the usual course in theology was admitted to the Christian ministry. His first charge was at Cumberland, then for a short time St. Andrew's, and afterwards for some year's St. Peter's, and last of all Whytewold on the shores of Lake Winnipeg, where he was in active service almost to the very last day of his life. He died at the age of ninety.

By the year 1859 about all the teaching attempted in St. John's, Red River Settlement, was that being done in the large day-school building of that parish; and as the work at St. Mary's, Portage la Prairie was growing too heavy for its Incumbent now *venerable* by age as well as title, Rev. Thomas Cochrane, who was always called "Mr. Thomas," by way of differentiation, was sent up there to render assistance. And although the work for which he was especially appointed was the pastorship of the two new parishes of High Bluff and Poplar Point, he made Portage la Prairie his headquarters, and found a home under the parental roof. When he had been two years engaged in this work, travelling to his appointments on saddle when the weather was warm enough and by cariole when it was not, his health began to fail, so in 1862 he was relieved by Rev. John Chapman who made Poplar Point his headquarters.

Mr. Thomas' complaint was of an insidious character which for a long time affected his back and lower limbs, but apparently left his general health otherwise unimpaired, so that he was able to lighten his father's labours, sometimes taking the mid-week service in his stead, or of a Sunday, allowing him the rare privilege of occupying a pew instead of the pulpit. Besides this he took charge of the day school during the winter of 1862-63.

When summer came Mr. Thomas found that his complaint was getting rather worse, so he accompanied the buffalo hunting portion of the community on their annual trek to "the Plains," hoping that while he rendered the hunters his services as chaplain, he might himself be benefitted by the open air and care-free life. While on this jaunt he was persuaded by Tom Anderson, St. Mary's Church caretaker, and others of the party, to take for the benefit of his health what might be called the buffalo treatment.

Two or three years later Tom Anderson thus described the incident—call it operation if you like—Tom's audience at the time was father and I and one or two others, and the place, Two Creeks, whither we had gone to enjoy a few days hunting in the beginning of winter. Sitting round a jolly camp fire, Tom thus described the operation: "We killed a buffalo, and while it was still good and hot, without skinning it, we quickly made a hole in the belly and pulled out the guts, and shoved Mr. Thomas in without any clothes on. He began to feel better right away, and we left him there as long as it was any use, with only his head sticking out." Mr. Anderson, however, had to admit that although the operation was successfully performed it was not effective, for said, he, "Mr. Thomas was better only for a little while."

He was certainly worse when the "plain hunters" returned in August, so after a short rest he went on to Toronto. There he was visited by the Archdeacon and Mrs. Cochrane in 1865, and after the death of the Archdeacon which happened that year soon after his return to Portage la Prairie, Mrs. Cochrane returned to Toronto where she nursed her son until his death in 1867, when she returned to England there to spend her few remaining years.

When Mr. Cochrane resigned the position of school teacher he was succeeded by Peter Garrioch, who taught till 1864.

Mr. Joseph Tait, a Swampy Cree and former parishioner of the Archdeacon commenced to teach in Portage in 1864. He was a good man, a faithful teacher and also a successful one to the full extent of his education; but he was not fully competent to do justice to the more advanced pupils who had benefitted from the tutorship of graduates of Oxford, St. John's Collegiate and Kenyon College. Fortunately during the latter part of his tenure of office he was assisted by Rev. Henry George, who taught history, geography and English grammar.

In 1866 the school house was pulled down and rebuilt on a slightly smaller scale close to the church, and when it was reopened there the writer was not among the pupils, having as far as he knew finished his education.

The teacher at the new stand was our neighbour, Mr. J. J. Setter. He was well qualified for the position, for besides being

well versed in the subjects taught in the parish schools, he had like Peter Garrioch sojourned for a time in the United States, the resultant benefits of which appeared to be the sharpening of his wits, and it also looked as if his pupils participated in the benefits.

In chapter sixteen it has been told how the school-house after having stood for about five years on the second site was moved to a third on the banks of Crescent Lake. The particulars regarding this move are given in verse by the poetical Portage blacksmith, Mr. Curtis, and the dominie therein mentioned as Hill no doubt both before and after this move officiated in the parish day-school; and after him was a Mr. Malon who was the last to teach in Portage under the regime preceeding that of the Canadian Government with its public schools.

The first to teach under the public school system was a Miss Whimster, who later married Mr. Sam Marlatt. The brother of this lady was teaching in the Presbyterian day-school at Kildonan while the writer was teaching in the Anglican day-school at St. John's.

OTHER CHURCHES OF PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

Presbyterian Church

Rev. R. Fletcher commenced in 1862.

Rev. Alexander Matheson commenced in 1867.

Rev. Allen Bell, 1874 to 1888.

Rev. Peter Wright, D.D., 1888 to 1899.

Rev. George Arnold, 1900 to 1904.

Rev. Thurlow Fraser, D.D., 1905 to 1912.

Rev. G. Watt Smith, 1912 to 1917.

Rev. P. E. Scott, D.D., 1918 to 1925.

The first two elders were appointed in 1873. They were Messrs. Roderick McLeod and James O. Fraser. The first Sunday School superintendent was Mr. W. W. Millar, who held office for over thirty years. He was succeeded by Mr. W. H. Thomson who held office till 1920. He was succeeded by Mr. W. S. Young.

In 1921 the membership roll was four hundred and ninety-nine, and the Sunday School enrolment three hundred and six. The

present church owned by the congregation is its fifth; and each has stood on a different site. This last which is located on Tupper Street near Saskatchewan Avenue was wrecked by the cyclone of June 23, 1922; but without loss of time it was reconstructed more substantially than ever. During Dr. Scott's pastorate the local needs called for about \$9,000 annually, and about one third of the revenue was devoted to missionary, educational and benevolent objects.

In the year 1925 two of the churches whose names were written large in the history of Christendom, nominally came to an end in the history of Canada; these were the Methodist and Congregational churches; and for a long time it looked as though the Presbyterian church as well was to lose its name, but it survives unto this day, in a minority it is true, but with a large share of its historic importance and with an equitable share of its material resources, is able to go forward in not unchristian competition with its once fellow church members who in full communion with once Methodists and Congregationalists are now engaged with them in the Great and Common Cause under the name of "The United Church of Canada."

When the division in the Presbyterian church occurred, those who objected to the absorption of the Presbyterian church withdrew and started services in the Oddfellows' Hall, where from Sunday to Sunday a minister was supplied by the Superintendent of Missions until a call was extended to Rev. William Bell, at the time living at Rolland, Manitoba. Under Mr. Bell's leadership the congregation has made good progress; and in December, 1928, a fine brick and concrete church was opened by Rev. C. S. Oke of the First Presbyterian Church of Brandon. As matters stand Rev. Mr. Bell's place in the list of Presbyterian ministers of Portage la Prairie is not quite clear, for while he was not the first Presbyterian minister of Portage la Prairie he is the first minister of the first continuing Presbyterian Church, in which position we shall have to leave him for the present.

The Methodist Church

The Methodist church was established in Portage la Prairie in 1872. The following is a list of the ministers who held office:

Rev. Michael Fawcette, commencing 1872.

Rev. William Halstead, commencing 1876.

Rev. W. L. Rutledge, commencing 1885.

Rev. J. M. Harrison, commencing 1887.

Rev. Geo Daniels, commencing 1890.

Rev. A. W. Ross, commencing 1892.

Rev. Geo. Dean, about 1895.

Rev. Mr. Stacey, 1901 to 1903.

Rev. W. L. Armstrong, 1903 to 1906.

Rev. A. E. Smith, 1909 to 1912.

Rev. W. E. Flatt, 1912 to 1916.

Rev. J. W. Churchill, 1916 to 1919.

Rev. R. A. Scarlet, 1919 to 1923.

Rev. W. B. Allison, 1923 to 1925.

Rev. J. W. Melvin, 1925 to 1928.

Rev. A. R. Maunders, 1928—

Since the union of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches which was consummated Jun 10, 1925, the above congregation has been designated Grace United Church to differentiate between it and Knox United Church.

During the history of this congregation the following gentlemen have in succession held the position of Sunday School superintendent, viz: Messrs. Thos. Logan, Hugh Harley, Thos. Silverton, H. W. Baker, W. L. Puckering, J. F. Walker, O. A. Ditchfield, James McKenzie, H. J. Prior, G. G. Grigg.

The Methodists of Portage la Prairie first met for public worship in the parlour of their parsonage which stood on Crescent Road, and afterwards in four successive buildings on different sites until 1892, when their stately and substantial brick building on Campbell Street was opened for worship. The erection of this building involved an outlay which left the congregation struggling for some time with a debt of \$22,000.00. However, the trustees and Ladies' Aid energetically addressed themselves to the task of relieving their church of its mortgage incubus, which they succeeded in doing on March 19, 1922, in token whereof the mortgage was burned at a banquet given in the basement of the church, on which occasion the general felicitation was enhanced.

by congratulations from representatives of other churches of the city. The membership of the church at this time was four hundred and fifty-five, and the enrolment of the Sunday School three hundred and seventy-five. The annual revenue was \$14,500.00. Of this \$900.00 was given to missions, and the balance of \$12,600.00 expended in connection with its local undertakings.

Church of Christ

On September 25, 1871, a few families met at the home of John Conner, Crescent Road west, and united in the simple form of worship favoured by this denomination; and this house to house worship was continued until the summer of 1882. In that year Rev. A. Scott was engaged as pastor, and the church was organized and began to meet in the Orange Hall. Since then the congregation has owned four different churches in succession, ending with the present which is a handsome brick and stone building on Ann Street, opposite St. Mary's. It was erected in 1902-03 and has a seating capacity of four hundred. Since its organization this church has been served by the following pastors:

Rev. A. Scott, commencing April, 1882.

Rev. A. H. Finch, commencing April, 1887.

Rev. J. Munroe, commencing August, 1894.

Rev. A. W. Romig, commencing 1902.

Rev. P. H. Green, commencing 1904.

Rev. E. C. Nicholson, commencing 1908.

Rev. T. J. Hall, commencing 1915.

Rev. H. N. Baker, commencing 1916.

Rev. A. L. Chapman, commencing 1917.

Rev. W. J. Johnstone, commencing 1919.

Rev. G. W. Ford.

Brother Lorne Conner.

The church has always been self-supporting. The Sunday School was organized in 1871. The following have been superintendents: Mr. Thomas Sissons, 1872-92; Rev. A. L. Finch, 1892-94; Miss Agnes Yuill, Miss Q. V. Green, Miss Weir; Mr. A. A. Armstrong, Mr. E. Wallis, Mr. Lorne Conner, Miss Bertha Kitson.

The Sunday School enrolment is about two hundred and forty, and the church membership about two hundred and twenty.

In 1923 the congregation raised \$5,362.04, of which \$1,307.20 was devoted to missionary and other benevolent objects.

Mr. Lorne Conner was a member of the congregation who served it without stint and was thereby mainly instrumental in changing a discouraging outlook to one of brightness and promise. Highly respected in the community; and esteemed and loved by his fellow church members for his generous and successful supervision of their church activities, it came as a terrible shock to all when they heard of his having met with a sudden and violent death in an automobile accident on his way back from Winnipeg where he had been attending a convention of ministers of the Church of Christ.

The Salvation Army

When the Salvation Army began work in Portage la Prairie in July, 1888, under the leadership of officers Captain L. Cowan and Lieutenant Akenhead they were without any following; but their military methods attracted attention, and they very quickly had the nucleus of a corps; and on the blank roll with which they commenced thirty-four years ago they are today able to write fifty-six soldiers, four recruits, and one hundred Sunday School pupils.

Their first barracks stood on the same site as the present one. It was a frame building with a seating capacity of two hundred. The present is a solid brick building and has a slightly larger seating capacity. From the first all expenses in the way of salaries and maintenance have been more than met within the city.

To all who love the truth and desire that mankind should be uplifted and comforted it should be a matter of sincere satisfaction that the prejudice with which the methods of the Army was regarded for some time after its inception has long since completely died out, as was reasonably to be expected. And since then they who pass along, however absorbed in other matters they may be, if they are free of bias, may well draw the conclusion that in the proceedings of the Army there is manifested a sincere desire to proclaim the living Word before a dying world in a manner which cannot possibly fail to arrest attention except from those hopelessly

deaf and blind. Its motivity is wrapped up with a sense of cheerfulness and hope which runs through all its religious and social service work—an idea which is fittingly conveyed in the very things or names of things associated with its activities, such as a brass band, a silver band, a young people's brass band, a Home League, a Sunbeam Brigade. Finally, to the tribute which the writer with pleasure has paid the Salvation Army in this paragraph he would add that the command of the Captain of our salvation has not been overlooked, and the Corps of Portage la Prairie is doing its little bit—it has its missionary in China.

Baptist Church

Rev. A. C. Turner, commencing May, 1881.

Rev. Jessie Gibson, commencing September, 1882.

Rev. J. C. McDonald, commencing March, 1888.

Rev. H. H. Hall, commencing April, 1893.

Rev. Neil Herman, commencing October, 1901.

Rev. M. McLean, commencing August, 1906.

Rev. A. N. Frith, commencing September, 1910.

Rev. Kerrison Juniper, commencing March, 1911.

Rev. W. A. Smalley, commencing October, 1913.

Rev. David Alexander, commencing January, 1919.

Student, Mr. James Smith, commencing May, 1920.

Rev. G. F. Kaye, commencing June, 1921.

Capt. Rev. C. K. Morse, commencing December, 1929.

Rev. M. A. Talnicoff, commencing May, 1930.

Sunday School superintendents: Mr. Festus Chapin, Mr. C. H.

Palmer, Mr. Bert Turner, Mr. John Giles, Mr. C. S. B. Burley,

Mr. D. G. J. Leslie.

During the period of forty-one years commencing with the pastorate of Rev. A. C. Turner in 1881 the congregation has increased from five to one hundred and ninety-five, and the attendance at Sunday School has grown to one hundred and three. The first church was a frame building on the west side of Campbell Street, S.E. Its seating capacity was one hundred and fifty. The next church was the present one, a handsome brick structure, corner of Campbell Street and Duke Avenue. Its seating capacity is six hundred. Until 1890 the congregation was assisted with a

grant from the Mission board, but in that year it became self supporting, and at the close of the period mentioned its revenue was \$3,542.91, of which \$497.90 was devoted to missions.

During the pastorate of Captain C. K. Morse the church was freed from the burden of its mortgage, and on January 18, 1930, representatives of the Manitoba Baptist Board met with members and friends on the pleasant occasion of the burning of the unpopular document. On May 5, 1931, the church commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment in Portage la Prairie, and taking courage from its past experiences resolved to press on in the continuing endeavour to render faithful service in the community.

Roman Catholic Church.

It is on record that Father Godfrey Coquart, S.J., resided in Portage for eight or nine months in 1742-43. And as far as known, his ministrations during that time were restricted mainly to the spiritual needs of the voyageurs connected with the building of Fort de la Reine by Verandrye.

It was not till about a century and a half later that a real beginning was made in what had by then grown to be the town of Portage la Prairie. Unfortunately, however, the first church which was known as St. Cuthbert's, was burned down, and with it there was also destroyed the church records up to that date. When arrangements were being made to erect the present church to take the place of the one destroyed, the name was changed to St. John the Evangelist in order to fulfil the condition upon which a parishioner had made his generous gift. This church was blessed by Monseigneur Cherrier by authorization of Archbishop Langevin in the presence of Father Albert Baribeau who was at the time pastor at Portage. This was on the Feast Day of our Lady of the Assumption in 1914. It was also at this date that the sisters of Notre Dame des Missions took charge of the parochial school.

Father J. E. Derome, who has been Incumbent since 1923, has by arrangement with the Government been having the boys of the Training School attend mass at St. John's Church on Sunday

mornings; and his Excellency Archbishop Sinnot has confirmed a goodly number of these. At times they all take Holy Communion in a body.

Layland Siding, fifteen miles south of Portage is also under charge of Father Derome, and on the occasion of his Grace's last visit there, thirty-two persons were confirmed.

The following is a list of Portage Incumbents to the present date:

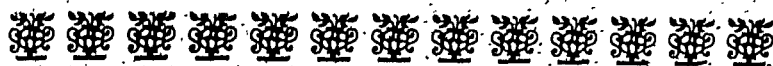
Father Vien, 1899-1907; Father J. W. Arsenault, 1907-1911; Father J. Brown, 1911-1913; Father A. E. Barebean, 1913-1915; Father A. Roy, Administrator, 1915-17; Father A. D. Rheau, 1917-1919; Father T. P. Caraher, 1919-1923; Father J. E. Derome, 1923, March 31.

The present Church Committee is composed of the following: Thos. Moran, Thos. P. McCarthy, Walter Andrich, J. Howe.

Rev. J. E. Derome, the present pastor of St. John's R.C. Church comes from the province of Quebec. He was educated in his home town, then in Quebec Seminary, and finally in Laval University. Before coming to Portage la Prairie he was Priest in charge at Oak Lake for six years. He built the Roman Catholic Church at Virden in 1920.

He was ordained priest in 1895 in the old St. Boniface Cathedral by the late Archbishop Langevin. Since the division of the St. Boniface Diocese in 1915 he belongs to the Diocese of Winnipeg.

Note: Further particulars about Portage la Prairie are given in "First Furrows," commencing at page 319.



CHAPTER TWENTY

The Five Decades Ending 1933

EARLY in this history the reader was introduced to the Charter of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, and in the lights and shadows of that celebrated document it was shown in subsequent chapters, how that during two centuries, commencing with 1670, the inhabitants of Rupert's Land steadily went forward on foot, or by canoe, York boat or Red River cart. Then it was shown that during the latter part of this two-century period, Red River Settlement began to attract attention, owing to the evident fertility of its soil, of which there was needed no more striking proof than the myriads of buffalo which fattened on its western and northwestern prairies.

Coincident with this growing faith in the country's adaptedness to support a civilized population—with, however, no forethought whatsoever by way of preparing for the impending change, but, instead, an utter heedlessness of all consequences, the Indians of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan prairies were paying another big instalment on their contribution towards civilization, being interestedly helped to do so by their inventive white brothers, who enabled the Indian to abandon his practice of stalking a buffalo on the chance of killing it with an arrow, and provided him instead with a gun and a fleet-footed horse; facilities these for killing which he sadly abused, by often running an animal to earth as much for sport as from necessity, with no better excuse than his being hungry for some tit-bits of the animal such as the tongue and the boss.

Thus it was that between the Indians and the Whites the plains were being steadily decimated of the ten thousand times ten thousand clean, edible animals which had been a veritable staff of life for thousands of years to various Indian tribes, in that it furnished them their food, their clothing and their wandering tents.

And so shortly preceding the progressive decades with which this chapter mainly deals, the wind which bloweth whither it listeth fanned no longer the shaggy manes of innumerable buffalo, but only those of small and sparsely scattered herds; but it blew also upon the bleaching bones of the countless animals which had been slaughtered by the current and the preceding generation, and which thickly strewed the ground in every direction. That Spirit, however, which is wind-like in character, but so much more vivifying in its effects that it makes dry bones live; it also breathed, and the moral consciousness of the people of Canada was stirred to life so that they stood forth as an army with banners, first of all to make good to the Indians that of which the White man's progressiveness had too quickly deprived them, and in the second place to save from extinction the noble animal which had provided his principal means of livelihood.

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT, SUCCESSOR OF THE H. B. COMPANY CHARTER

It should be a matter of mutual congratulation to the English and the French that notwithstanding the many occasions on which they saw fit to fight each other, their common interests and common sense on several important occasions induced them to convert a bone of contention into a bond of union. And first of all, no one can say for certain that there would have been any Hudson's Bay Company but for the glowing accounts given Prince Rupert and his fellow adventurers by the two Frenchmen, Radisson and Groseillers, of prospective wealth in furs obtainable in a large tract of country accessible via Hudson Bay.

The British company thus prompted into existence by the two Frenchmen named, commenced business with the apparent advantage of a charter giving them a monopoly in the fur trade

over a country whose bounds being unknown were therefore undefinable. This alone constituted a weakness. Add to this the bestowal of a monopoly, and we get the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, whose supposed boon turned out to be an all-round thorn in the flesh for a period of two hundred years, particularly so when after one hundred and thirteen years the North-West Company came into existence and during the thirty-eight years that it lasted as a separate concern strenuously opposed the claim of the older company to any rights superior to their own. Nevertheless (and please note the mankind consistency), after the amalgamation in 1821, the united company was in perfect accord as to the validity of its claim of a monopoly of the fur trade in the Red River Settlement and the North-West Territories. It turned out, however, upon trial, that the Hudson's Bay Company as a coalition concern had more trouble to enforce its claim than previously when it had only one-fourth the capital; so that a decade or so before the Transfer it had renounced its claim entirely. The inhabitants of Red River had become too knowing and independent. So it came about that, of necessity, the Hudson's Bay Company Charter had to have a successor. And the name thereof was the "British North America Act."

The bill embodying the provisions of this act was drawn up at a conference held in London, England, in 1866. Sir John A. McDonald, one of the delegates from Canada was chairman. A few days after the meeting the Act was sanctioned in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and was signed by Queen Victoria, on May 29, 1867. The inclusion of North West America into the Confederation, at the time under consideration, occurred three years later.

In the foregoing paragraph there has been briefly described an extraordinary stage reached in the two hundred year period of progress in British North-West America; and it appeals to us as becomingly significant of the importance of the event that there should be associated therewith the names of Sir John A. McDonald and Queen Victoria. Be it remembered, however, that they did not make the event greater, but simply gave emphasis to its importance. They acted representatively for the subjects of the British Empire every one of whom, if inspired by the right spirit

may do an equally great thing all silent and unseen. For no doubt it is according to the established rule of things in this mundane estate that true subjects should work into each other's hand for the benefit of the human race, each satisfied with whatever modicum of praise may be coming to himself or herself for having honoured the powers that be, who occupy their position by Divine appointment.

Furthermore it is equally clear, according to the same established rule, so far as it has been allowed to pursue its normal course, that every generation is a debtor to preceding generations and under obligation to discharge that debt to its successors. And it is because of this inter-dependence of generations that we fondly make mention of wholesome things of long ago and strive to pass them on unimpaired along with other agencies for good. This surely is the heaven ordained law of perpetual forward movement, according to whose mighty workings frail men oft build better than they suppose. Thus the daring acts of Prince Rupert and his fellow-adventurers of which their charter was a fitting example, had to have its counterpart in the fulness of time in the British North-West America Act. And who need doubt that, apart from fur-trading agencies, there were others contributing as much or more to arrive at the stage of progressiveness marked by the last-named national enactment.

It was inevitable that in the march of progress the old commercial regime should have to give place to another; but to take place when and as it did was an instance of inevitableness accommodating itself to the feasible and beneficial. And I shall now mention just one of the agencies which prepared the way and helped fix the time when the inevitable change could be most beneficially introduced.

STEAM BECOMES A MOTIVE POWER

The train of thought which led to this had its inception when James Watt started thinking why, if steam could lift a tea-kettle cover it should not be made to do other things as well, and that reasonable idea being followed up with experiments by himself and others there soon resulted several inventions, of which the

most noteworthy was the locomotive steam-engine invented by George Stephenson in 1714. Between them all, as we know, these inventors have brought about something in the nature of a revolution in methods of traffic and production. And if anything were needed to add significance to the word *conversion*, I think that inventors have supplied it when they obtain required force by the conversion of water into something invisible, for the force which converts water into a motive power is very different from that employed in what is known as a water-mill, for in this case the water is heated to such a degree that its steam is rendered invisible and thus expanded it is hurled with intense force against a set of revolving vanes. Such is the immensity of force which can be thus applied that today there may be seen trains passing through Winnipeg drawn by a single Mikado engine, which, when travelling westward are composed of from sixty to sixty-seven cars loaded with wheat, or from ninety to ninety-six cars of mixed merchandise. Thus has wise thinking led from mama's tea-kettle to papa's Mikado.

Confederation was unquestionably a progressive step, and might have happened without the aid of steam engines, but had such been the case, most likely Confederation would have been long deferred for the reason that a humane public sentiment, backed up by experience would not have favoured any great extension of the carrying trade so long as it had to be done largely on the backs of the unfortunate inhabitants.

How different was the situation and outlook when Confederation did take place. Steam as a ~~motive power~~ had then been one hundred and fifty-six years in use; and its engines were adapted for traffic either by land or water, and also for manufacturing purposes. And the alert and enterprising subjects of Great Britain had correctly appraised its merits as a means of developing the resources of a new territory such as that of North-West America. So it can be said advisedly that the fathers of Confederation in bringing it about when they did, rightly discerned the signs of the times. And what the world is calling for at this time is not so much for more men who can discern the face of the sky or the face and bowels of the earth, as more men who can so discern the

signs of the times that they shall discern no problem of the day for which there is not ready to hand a solution.

The problem of today in the opinion of economists and people generally, has largely come about through the mechanization of industry, which is responsible for the tremendous quantity of merchandise which cannot be disposed of at any price. So long as manual production was in the ascendency, the law of supply and demand was workable; but ever since the inception of the five decades of inventiveness, about 1880, attempts at observing such a law have been growing increasingly hopeless.

Until the invention of the steam engine in 1714, antiquatedness successfully held sway; but it may be said that the increasingly heavy strain which had been placed on the back and muscles of human beings was at that time gradually relaxed by its transference to those of horses and oxen; and thus followed a relief period where traffic and production were much less laborious, yet not too slow, so that it may be said that the civilized world enjoyed a happy medium condition between antiquatedness and modernism during the one hundred and sixty-six year period between 1714 and 1880, especially during the two decades immediately preceding the latter date, when there was no lack of inventiveness of a clearly beneficent character in that, while the wheels of industrial progress were kept going, they did not turn so fast as to provide men and women with excuses for extravagance, idleness or selfish pleasure seeking.

The writer makes this assertion from personal knowledge, having seen shortly after their invention the following machines successfully introduced into the Red River and Portage la Prairie Settlements: the field seeder, the reaping machine and the mower, the hand-gardening implement combining plough, seeder and cultivator, the washing machine, cream separator and sewing machine.

Inventiveness up to this point it may be said, was wholesomely evolutionary; but subsequent to 1880 strikingly revolutionary. And this was no doubt largely due to progressive strides in the sciences of chemistry and electro-magnetism, whereby new types of motor-power were revealed to men who had the taste, the

patience and the genius for invention. And the following further discoveries and contrivances resulted, viz: the electric railway, telephone, gramophone, cinema, automobile, aeroplane, wireless and radio.

Some fine thinking but not much erudition was needed in the production of the first group of inventions, and there was little interference with opinions respecting the composition and destiny of matter. It was what it appeared to be—chiefly mud and water and air, and one day it was to be “burnt up,” that is, turned to dust and ashes, or something else, just what, it didn’t matter very much, and why pursue the subject any further.

But they who made the other group of discoveries were more of the savant type. They had the analytic bent and indulged it. According to the accepted opinion of the times it is justifiable to study things visible and invisible; and these enterprising investigators when studying the elementary composition of matter made some astounding discoveries which have culminated in the discovery that an atom is not indivisible, but on the contrary is made up of parts which are in perpetual motion. These parts are called electrons, and their discovery has thrown open the door wider than ever for speculation as to the origin of life; and many entertain the idea that possibly the constitution of all matter is electricity. Whether it be so or not, it cannot be denied that electricity at the present time very much affects the constitution of the whole world; for apart from its own effectiveness as a motive-power, it adds to the effectiveness of every other, by supplying them in clean form with light, heat or ignition.

Funny and harmless little things one might think, must be these invisible electrons. Not very, reply the scientists who have traced them to their atomic abode. Furthermore, we are told that they are so susceptible of being tampered with that some time or other they may lead to instantaneous and wholesale destruction of life and property. Not likely, however, that any scientist has lost as much sleep over the possible contingency as while solemnly awaiting the cessation of a thunder storm.

After successive generations had for thousands of years witnessed these awe inspiring exhibitions of power, and no doubt

thought long and seriously, and conjectured freely about them, it was at length known, long before the electron was discovered, that electricity was of two kinds, negative and positive; and that magnetism which emanates from loadstone acted as a friendly relation to both, permitting the magnetizing of a piece of iron or steel thus endowing it with that mysterious quality noticeable in the needle of the mariner's compass which by pointing constantly straight for the magnetic pole, has been instrumental in saving more lives than electrons are ever likely to destroy. And when the forenamed discoveries are considered in conjunction with that other—that the ether surrounding the world is pervaded by invisible matter constitutionally identical with the composition of all solid matter including the earth itself. And when we consider this other discovery—that in this same ether are ether-waves called *radiation*, by means of which light and sound are broadcasted at a velocity which practically annihilates distance, well may we be transported with wonder and admiration, whether one regard these properties as originating from a Divinity or as pertaining to the natural world, which to the devout believer is one and the same thing.

At some suitable water-fall there is captured what—comparatively speaking—is just a tiny portion of this all-prevading power. For this purpose there is used a machine called a dynamo or electric generator, and therewith is generated sufficient electric energy to illuminate streets and houses far and near, also for transmitting news, also for forwarding passengers and merchandise, and also to electrify—that is to operate by electricity every possible sort of machinery. And when we contemplate these marvels which it has been permitted man to discover by patient investigation, well might we exclaim: How great is the sum of them! Truly we are in a wonderland, right here and now!

The third artificial motive-power which remains to be mentioned is the highly explosive fluid known as gasoline which is mostly obtained from petrol by distillation. It is also obtainable from crude oil and natural gas. The mechanical force of gasoline is obtained by the use of an internal combustion engine, which may be described as a furnace placed within a cylinder, and a contrivance whereby pulsating explosions of the fluid take place.

behind a piston so producing sufficient energy to operate any sort of vehicle or machinery conceivable. And due to the compactness of such an engine and the facilities for obtaining fuel whenever needed, this is mainly the kind of engine used in automobiles, motor boats and aeroplanes.

Of the first two forces mentioned most people will admit that they materially advanced the prosperity and comfort of the human race, but of this last force I am not so sure, and no doubt it would be instructive to hear the question ably and earnestly discussed. Has it *so far*, turned out to be to humanity a curse or a blessing? If the former, no doubt it is because naturally most people take the *broad road* in preference to the *narrow* one.

Not long ago the writer was wont to travel over a certain sixty mile stretch of country by cart or sleigh in two days, and now I am carried over the same ground by automobile in two hours. Nevertheless, comparing the two methods of travel in the matter of safety, I would say, stay with the old proverb—"Slow and steady wins the race." For while the travellers by the old method got through safely in time, the travellers by the new, alas! too often never reach their objective at all, or do so very seriously injured.

Yet, who would be so retrogressive as to advocate a return to the horse and cart? We people of Canada—including Manitoba, *of course*—consider ourselves too progressive for that, for have we not the only political party in all the world which is called "The Progressive Party?"

Progress is all right. It is what the churches and state are aiming at; but they are not going to get it by phraseology and nomenclature.

A strange spectacle does the civilized world at this time present to the nations which it comprises. For two years have they watched world conditions with increasing bewilderment, latterly receiving assurances from optimistic observers that there are better times coming "just around the corner;" while others are theorizing as to how they got to be on the other side, and as to the policy whereby they may be returned to us to remain with us permanently.

Apropos of the foregoing, I am reminded of a sermon said to have been delivered to his congregation by a certain preacher—"Brethren, my Christian brethren; you know enough, you all know enough; but you don't do it." Whatever the cause of the present world trouble it is certainly not due to not knowing enough. In Great Britain, Canada and the United States, at any rate, Church and State have co-operated and have succeeded in having the masses educated, that is to say, have not permitted them to grow up illiterate. They know enough; and the thing which now remains is to get them to do it!

Then let us consider the following propositions:

1. Nothing can more contribute to the well-being of a people than education.
2. The people of the present time are more educated than ever before.
3. Never before were the people in such distress and confusion as at the present time.

The last statement is true with every word given its first and simple meaning; but the first two are variably so, according to the significance attached to the word *education*. Obviously then, with the prevalence of conditions mentioned in No. 3, the education mentioned in No. 2 must have fallen below a standard implied in No. 1. In other words, the people have been given a defective education, and the results have been painfully disappointing.

The education dealt with here is not only that kind which we associated with a school or other places of learning. It is of that real sort, which is well defined in Annandale's dictionary under the word *educate*, "L . . . to lead forth, to bring up a child—*e, out*, and *duco*, to lead." Considering this a proper definition, I proceed to consider its adaptability to most parts of the British Empire; for instance, the Province of Manitoba. Assurance can be given of a first-class education in behalf of every child brought forth in the Province of Manitoba, because a staff of six very much interested instructors are to be successively placed at its services: these are a mother, father, Sunday School teacher, day-school teacher, a minister and a statesman. Between them all they

should be able to "bring up a child" so that it will not only "know enough," but also "do it."

PROSPECT OF SUCCESS

Of this the writer can speak from experience, filling as he does the position of a parent, and having filled also each of the other positions save that of the statesman. And this being no extraordinary achievement but something which many others in the province have done, and done intelligently and consciously, the writer, without self-praise, mentions it solely in order to show that there is a wide-spread and sincere desire to bring up the children well; and that while there is not unanimity of opinion as to how this can be best accomplished, there is provided in the Canadian school system the means whereby all the children may be educated without any necessity for interference with creeds or of sacrifice of principles, and the fact is just mentioned—that so many citizens have voluntarily filled all the positions in the general educational process described, furnishes as strong a proof as can be desired, that while the positions are diverse in character they are not incongruously so.

But independent of the foregoing dissertation, I presume no one will deny that education rightly understood does call for development both moral and intellectual, and surely in a Christian country such as this it was to be expected that both these phases of education would enjoy religious sanction subject, however, to the rule that the former be given precedency over the latter, for the reason, among others, that it is better to be good than clever. And fortunately for this country this is the kind of education that Great Britain imparts to her subjects.

Over there in 1886 in the city of London as I passed by and beheld the devotions of the people, I "marked well her bulwarks," and got an insight into the secrets of her occupying the premier position among the nations of the world. The very stones revealed to me that she had an ambition to be a power for good.

Along the wall of its front entrance one grand old society had the words engraved: "The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge;" another that it was "The British and Foreign Bible

Society;" another that it was the "Church Missionary Society;" and still another that it was "The Colonial and Continental Church Society." When I beheld these things then did I understand how it was that the Rupert's Land Colonizers had acted as though these or similar words had been engraven upon "the fleshy tables of their hearts," so that when they occupied a lone cabin in the wilderness, they lit their candle not to put it under a bushel, but to set it upon the table where its humble flicker "shone through the gloom and pointed to the skies."

Thus, Lord Selkirk, the great history maker of Rupert's Land, showed a just concept of the British idea of education, when personally or through agents seeking recruits for his promised land, invariably among inducements offered was this—that in their new home they would be enabled to enjoy church and school privileges similar to those to which they had been accustomed. True to this principle, on the part of both donor and donee, the Earl makes a grant of land to the Roman Catholic Church, at the time represented in the Settlement by Father, later Bishop Provencher, whereupon in the year 1818, the said Father Provencher proceeded to erect at St. Boniface a small log building which for some time served as both church and school-house.

In 1820 the concerted action of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society led to the inception of the missionary work of the Church of England in Rupert's Land, by the employment of Rev. John West as evangelist, and under him Mr. George Harbidge as school teacher.

Then in 1849, no sooner had the Selkirk Colonists had their expectations fulfilled of a minister of their own church, than they likewise conformed to the established rule, and, at once, under the supervision of their minister, the Rev. John Black, there stood side by side the Kildonan church and school-house.

This system worked well so long as education was ecclesiastical, parochial and voluntary, and there were no serious objections raised against part of the community being illiterate; but when there was a much larger and more heterogeneous population, all true friends of civilization could see for themselves that it was a move in the right direction when at the time of the Transfer, the

Government took charge of secular education so as to make it compulsory. For compulsory it had to be in the opinion of the better informed majority of the people, a majority which knew equally well that it was better so than place control with the church and its disagreements.

It is not likely that the Canadian school system is perfect; but to the writer it seems to be about the best that could be provided under the circumstances. To those who are impartial, it is impartial. It is as unjust to term it irreligious as it would be to so define the three R's. And when the State has shown how harmoniously the learners of all creeds can study together the three R's and the rest of the public school curriculum, it should have the effect of making the churches try to iron out their religious differences which are by no means as formidable as they appear to be; and it does look as though school trustees, a board of education and kindred aids to broadening out are exerting a beneficial influence in this direction so that old prejudices are slowly but surely disappearing. For Christians generally must admit that in the matter of having their children religiously educated the various denominations are given an even chance; and if the agencies already mentioned, beginning with that of the parents, be used wisely, people will find that it is within their own power to have the teaching given in the day-school morally wholesome; and this being added to what all Christians desire, and what each denomination according to its distinctive methods has worked for, should furnish an education, which, although it may not constitute godliness, will at least open the door wide in that direction.

At the time of the Transfer the first pioneer school of each of the churches—the Anglican, the Roman Catholic and the Presbyterian—were dealing in higher education, the first-named for twenty-eight years, the second for about the same length of time, and the last-named had just made a beginning.

Speaking of St. John's College, of which I know most, I would say that its main purpose was to exert a civilizing influence in the country by qualifying men for the Christian ministry or for school-teaching; and incidentally to have any others the better qualified to fill their positions.

When the Government became responsible for secular education only, the necessity for the high-schools named continuing their religious educational work became greater than ever. This did not, however, place them under the necessity of trying to grow into as many universities, and they decided that one well-equipped university would best answer their common aim and the interests of the people; so after brief collaboration with the Government the necessary institution was by law established under the name of the University of Manitoba, in the year 1877; and in the same year St. John's College was affiliated while presided over by Bishop Machray, St. Boniface by Bishop Tache, Manitoba College (Presbyterian) by Professor Bryce; but Wesley College, (Methodist) under Dr. Sparling, was not affiliated till 1888. In addition to these theological colleges there were also affiliated the following institutions: the Medical College in 1882, the Pharmaceutical Association in 1901, and the Agricultural College, 1907-1924.

It may be noticed that the history of the University of Manitoba runs concurrently with the inventive and progressive period to which this chapter is devoted, a period during which cleverness had been held at a premium, and rapid growth had been in order; and if the strange expression, "going forward by leaps and bounds" was not coined at this time, it was certainly better suited to it than to the present or to that a little way ahead. In the matter of phenomenal growth the University of Manitoba was, no laggard. In fact its growth was almost too rapid to be healthy. Commencing with one graduate in Arts in the year 1880—Reginald Gunn of Lockport—it had three hundred by the year 1927 with one hundred and eleven full time professors, and 2,458 students, an enrolment exceeding that of any of the eighteen universities of Canada with the single exception of the University of Toronto.

Progress such as described in the foregoing is certainly remarkable, and the fair and kindly way of accounting for it is to remember that Canada was born of a great mother who has done her best to bring up her children in the way they should go, and after a not too serious experience in raising Uncle Sam has had a happier experience with Canada, whom she has raised to the status of nationhood in a manner so generous and so free as to

strengthen the filial devotion of Canadians. And to Canadians there is certainly nothing better in sight than to remain voluntarily for all time an integral part of the British Empire.

WHY THE WORLD WAR.

It was to have been expected, that *civilized* and *Christianized* nations would turn to good account the inventiveness of the period just described by contriving life and labour-saving devices. They did so, but more than offset the good effect by falsifying a certain peaceful prophetic vision in that they beat their *ploughshares* into swords and their *pruning-hooks* into spears. And in a spirit which every lover of either God or man must find difficult to commend, they manufactured instruments of war which they believed had at least an hundred-fold capacity for the destruction of life and property over anything previously employed. And thus Christian nations, armed to the teeth, watched each other, terribly afraid of each others brand of Christianity. Their fears were well justified; and could they have but foreseen but one tenth of the awfulness of the cataclysm which they dreaded, they would have contrived to render peace inevitable instead of war. And while it has to be admitted that Christians have of right and necessity been obliged to engage in war, and the other fact is not overlooked—that in the World War there was one Christian nation which was primarily blood-guilty, the writer here asserts with all the assurance of which he is capable, that if the generation which brought about the war had been properly brought up by the preceding generations—that is to say, had been blessed with a truly Christian education—it would have entirely scorned the suggestion of seeking redress for wrongs, real or imaginary, by a recourse to physical force; that is, in so far as it would be possible for Christians to so terribly misunderstand each other.

I think that President Wilson is considered by many students of history to have died broken hearted because he failed to persuade his own nation to join with others in the out-lawing of war. Well, in the opinion of the writer he failed for the very same reason that the Christian nations of Europe had failed to avoid war, viz, because the Christians of the first generation of the twentieth century were amply educated intellectually, but insufficiently

educated morally. In thus stating my own opinion in this manner I am at least quite in line with views held by President Wilson—to the effect that the evil of the World War could have been prevented had a little more time been devoted to the consideration of the moral aspects of the question. To quote his own words in an address to his fellow-countrymen, he said: "I think that every one present will agree with me that Germany would never have gone to war if she had permitted the world to discuss the aggression upon Serbia a single week." Not very well developed, perhaps, was the international conscience; but such as it was, given a little more time to function, its sentence would have been against Germany. The opportunity, however, for discussing differences of opinion in a friendly spirit was not given, and even if it had been "*der tag*" was bound to come sooner or later even if the murder of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajivo, in the opinion of the Kaiser and his war lords, did not constitute in itself a sufficient *casus belli*.

War might have been put off for a month or so, or even for a year; but in this generation it was bound to come because *that* education which is the antidote of war cannot be given to nations in a month or even a year, particularly when previous generations had only gone as far as to proclaim its merits without giving it a chance to exert its virtues on a morally infected constitution.

And besides all this, forasmuch as these mighty preparations for war had taken place while the gospel of peace and good will among men was being proclaimed just as faithfully as during the previous generations, was it likely that unless something occurred more wonderful than what had happened at Pentecost, these nations would suddenly have abandoned the thought of war and grasping each others hands in friendship, have sworn to each other by Him who sitteth on the throne of heaven that they would learn war no more? Not likely. Not that way now do such things happen. The great thing that one would accomplish in life, he must prepare for, long and carefully, and only when he has done so is he pretty certain to accomplish it.

The humorist, Artemus Ward, states that when he was preparing to leave Utah the ladies were in tears and asked him why he was leaving, to which he replied, "because when I get

ready to do a thing I generally do it;" and what holds good with one funny individual holds good with nations even when they are by no means trying to be funny. The nations got ready for war, and when in the opinion of Germany it was *der tag*, they fought. And in the war they were taught a lesson which they had never properly learned before, so now they are getting ready for peace and if they do so as diligently as they prepared for war, they are just as certain to succeed. For now they know that their system of education must have been defective and they will never rest until they are satisfied that they have contrived a better. And whatever that better education may be, there will doubtless be more co-operation. And beginning with the infant and continuing on through life, greater care will be exercised in the improvement of the moral faculties; and this, far from acting as a deterrent would be an incentive to intellectual improvement in that there would be more assurance than formerly that whatever knowledge was acquired would be more wisely directed and better controlled.

HOW WENT THE WORLD WAR?

In answering this question the words will be used almost *verbatim* of one thoroughly qualified to tell—Colonel George G. Nasmith, C.M.G. of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, whose history is entitled "Canada's Sons in the World War." The following were the participants in the war:

1. On the one side, Germany, Austria, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey.
2. On the side of the Allies, Great Britain and her Colonies, France, Belgium, Russia, Poland, Montenegro, Serbia, Japan, Italy, Portugal, Rumania, United States, Cuba and Panama, Haiti, Siam, Liberia, China, Peru and Uruguay, Brazil, Ecuador, Argentine.

The following is a list of some of the larger losses:

| Countries | Population | Casualties | Killed or Missing |
|--------------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| France | 40,000,000 | 4,500,000 | 1,400,000 |
| Belgium | 8,000,000 | 100,000 | 30,000 |
| Russia | 80,000,000 | 9,150,000 | 1,700,000 |
| The British Isles and Colonies | 65,000,000 | 3,089,000 | 1,000,000 |
| Canada | 8,000,000 | 254,000 | 54,000 |
| United States | 100,000,000 | 236,117 | 50,000 |
| Germany and Austria | 60,000,000 | 11,066,769 | |

The total number slain in the war was 7,500,000

Cost of the war to Great Britain was \$52,000,000,000.

Total Allied claims as indemnities amounted to \$120,000,000,000.

"In the shell-torn flats of the Ypres salient alone nearly half a million men lie—men who had blocked the road to Calais. Between Ypres and the Somme in the land which holds no living thing, one and a half million dead lie sleeping."

"The war cost the world altogether some 33,000,000 casualties of which approximately 7,500,000 are dead."

BY FAITH THE WAR WAS WON

"The psychic element as a decisive factor did not make any appeal to them, for it was not believed that psychic element could stand against machine guns. Nevertheless the complete breakdown of the German home front, before the military front was decisively crushed, was the final factor. The German home front broke down because it was inferior psychically to the allied home front."

"It was faith that won the great war for the Allies. As soon as the Germans believed that they were not going to win the war they went to pieces, and the Allies who all along believed that victory must eventually be theirs, went over them like a steam-roller."

".... It was a fine demonstration of the fact that he who takes into account only material forces will never reach correct results

... The dominating factor in allied morale was faith in the righteousness of their cause; the belief in their military superiority being secondary"

THE PASSING OF GERMAN KULTUR

"The question is often asked, was it worth while; was not the cost too great?" There can be no second answer to that . . . with the spread of new ideas as to liberty throughout the earth and with the increased opportunities that will be offered to the people at large to *become better educated* (the italics are mine) and obtain their just share of comfort and happiness, the world has undoubtedly made a gigantic step forward and entered upon a new era of progress."

"Germany had woven a legend as to her invincibility which she had almost succeeded in forcing the world to believe"

"Above all, believing in material more than spiritual forces she laboriously and with infinite patience built a war machine which could not fail. And this superb military machine did fail when it was confronted with those other forces, call them spiritual if you will, which the Allies possessed, belief in the righteousness of their cause; that justice should not perish; that might was not necessarily right; that utter extinction was preferable to existence under the rule of a people whose every principle of national ethics, morality and justice was wrong."

THE HOME FRONT

It must be pleasing to all who are helping to bring about the triumph of good over evil to be informed by a Canadian soldier as competent to know as Col. Nasmith, that the victory of the Allies was due to superiority on the home front. And in addition to the comfort derived from this well-founded opinion we can pick up a few more crumbs even at the war front; for instance the more merciful policy of the British in the use of the submarine, and the fact that the blame for initiating the use of poison gas in this conflict rests with the Germans.

When chlorine gas was first used, and it floated in a green yellowish cloud over the Canadian front, its effect on those who

inhaled it was so terrible that Col. Nasmith appeared to be painfully conscious of the infirmity of language when expressing his opinion of the deserts of those who could stoop to regard such a device as a legitimate weapon of warfare. For he had to look upon scores of his fellow-countrymen choking, groaning and coughing in agonizing distress while the deadly chlorine gas was burning their lungs, and in many cases there was no hope of recovery, while in other cases the best that could be expected was only a slow and partial recovery. While on the subject of the home front it is only fair to Germany to bear in mind that its home front had to do with a war front that was more Juggernaut in character than that of the Allies—"ears it had but it heard not," and a voice of mercy from the home front would have had to plead in vain, for according to German war kultur sensitiveness over the manner of destroying the foe was a negligible virtue.

The forenamed method of rendering an opposing force *hors de combat* was the vilest used during the World War, and was quite on a par with that of the North American savage, who, when he caught his victim just how it suited, preferred scalping him alive, and it is pleasant to know that Christian civilization has relegated to the realms of oblivion the practice of scalping either the dead or the living, and although it may not right-away succeed in dispensing with war as a means of settling international disputes, it is good to know that the home fronts of this same Christian civilization are even now united in an honest endeavour to render war prohibitive, and if that cannot be, to at least deprive it of its most detestable weapon, poison gas; and to relegate the employment of the aeroplane and the submarine more in consonance with the dictates of love and pity.

Doubtless the spirit of the truly conquering hero is born at home and is nourished and cherished there, and in any war, great or small, "*it is the spirit that quickeneth.*" And the nations which took part in the World War must have learned this lesson—that it was a more excellent spirit which decided the issue of the conflict, rather than a pre-eminence in the employment of submarines and poison gas. Add this to the sane conclusion of the combatants which agrees with that of the veteran soldier

when addressed thus: "but what good came of it at last, quoth little Peterkin," felt constrained to answer:

"Why that I cannot tell, said he;
But t'was a famous victory."

And the same conclusion of the nations who had taken part in the World War was to the effect that it was no good to anybody who was any good, therefore, all the thoughtful and good among them repented and spoke among themselves of a way whereby this great evil might "be overcome of good;" so they bethought themselves of another war, in which they would all be allies against a common foe, and in which the weapons would not be earthly and carnal but moral and spiritual. And so it came about that ever since 1918 civilized nations have been engaged in this war against war.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"Faith," says Col. Nasmith, "won the war," and by faith, say I, the League of Nations is going to win *this* war, for it is using the weapons which are mighty to the pulling down of strongholds—the strongholds of ignorance, uncommon sense, pride and every other thing which panders to the depravity in human nature, and if the righteousness of any cause can justify its existence, then the founders and promoters of the League of Nations need no apology in its behalf, and if, after the good which has already resulted from its services in the interests of peace, there still be those who regard its policy as utopian, all the writer would say about that is that such an opinion is not in harmony with revelation, and coming at a time when the people of the world so much need encouragement, it is to be condemned.

The League of Nations is going to succeed by faith in *Le Bon Dieu*. That faith which has been nourished and cherished during the entire history of Christianity, and which cannot fail of a grand consummation.

This confidence in the League is well justified for it is in itself the evidence that civilized nations have at length learned the lesson that unless they hereafter stand together they are going to fall together. But just now it is only learning how to walk,

and no true friend of humanity should lose a chance of giving it a kindly hand and encouraging word.

Notwithstanding my stricture on modern education as we know it in Manitoba, there is this much to be said for it, it is up to date—the best to be had under the circumstances, and the circumstances are improving. The main Christian denominations are unquestionably drawing nearer together, and there is in consequence a more sympathetic interchange of views on the part of various agencies which have to do with the education of the young. In other words there is an increasing improvement in the *esprit de corps* of the respective units.

Looking back on the improvements in this respect which have occurred in my own lifetime, I can easily believe that in the shorter period between now and the year 2,000 A.D. the church now composed of various sections weakly cemented and known by different names, will then have but one name as becomes a Divinely unified entity. In those days "mercy and truth will meet each other, and righteousness and peace kiss each other, for the dark shades of ancient days, full of hate and oppression, in the brightness of joy shall flee away and be gone."

THE DARK HOUR WHICH IS A PRESAGE OF THE ABOVE

In the fierce struggle between good and evil which is ever going on in this sinful world, the former is sometimes so hard hit that while it is engaged in making a recovery, there are to be heard voices derisively asking, "where is now thy God?" Where are your fine predictions about the brightness of joy, and righteousness and peace kissing each other? According to some of these critics, the World War knocked the bottom out of theology, and fourteen years later served the strong box of the Anglican Church of Rupert's Land in a similar manner.

Literally speaking, this is what happened in Manitoba. One day in the autumn of 1932 it was publicly announced that Mr. John A. Machray, Bursar of the University of Manitoba had been arrested on the charge of defalcation in University funds, to the extent of \$47,451.37. Later he appeared in police court before Magistrate Noble, charged with defalcation in a much larger

amount and on admitting the charge correct to the extent of one-half the sum named, he was sentenced, although suffering from cancer, to seven years in the penitentiary. Further examination of the books of the investment firm of which he was head showed that the total dissipation of the University funds amounted to \$1,000,000.

Mr. Machray also held the position of Chancellor in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and was entrusted with the investment of various Church funds; namely, the endowments of five Missionary Dioceses, St. John's College, and the Clergy and Widow and Orphan Beneficiary Funds. And the same investigations which brought to light the extent of the University losses likewise led to the discovery that dissipation of church funds had occurred to the extent of at least \$760,000.

In order to discover who were to blame for the belated discovery of the huge deficit in the University funds, the Bracken Government appointed a commission of three under the chairmanship of Justice W. A. F. Turgeon. The sittings of this commission commenced September 29, 1932 and ended January 19, 1933—122 days in all, of which fifty-four were taken up with actual sessions and sixty-eight with interruptions. Then after about sixty-eight more days occupied in going over the mass of evidence taken, it handed in a forty thousand word report to the Government.

In reading over the reports of the daily sessions as given in the local press, as well as the resume of the evidence, collected likewise by the Commission, and given in full in the local press, it was evident to any careful and unprejudiced reader that the enquiry had been conducted in an impartial manner.

It may be said that the report did not materially shift the burden of actual guilt from where the police court had left it except that it made public the discovery that Mr. R. H. Shanks, book-keeper for Machray and Sharpe, who was also secretary for the Land Board of the Manitoba University, and who had died before the dissipation of University funds had been discovered, was shown to be an accomplice in that he had so skillfully manipulated his accounts that in the course of time his friend

Machray might occupy a comparatively safe financial position. And inasmuch as the Commissioner's remark that it could not be discovered that he had ever profited to the extent of one cent by having done so, they and we might well charitably conclude that his conduct was due to a peculiar sense of honour and of genuine devotion to a friend; and this should merit from us at the least, the tribute of a respectful silence.

The names of some thirty others were mentioned whose connection with the Government and University, or with the law firm of which J. Machray was head, had afforded them the chance to be witnesses of, or even actors in, the drama which had so suddenly arrested public attention, therefore they were liable to *be*, and *were* called upon to assist in the elucidation of the wretched finale. And they are to be congratulated in having, after helping to this end, come forth with reputations unscathed, with the single exception of James Kerr, assistant book-keeper in Shank's office.

To him Mr. Shanks found it necessary when taken ill in 1924 to explain a system of entering fictitious credits by which it was hoped a time of stress might be tided over. Kerr saw fit to enter the open door to help a sick man and a sick firm; but when the true state of affairs began to be discovered, he made a clean breast of the whole thing and so greatly aided the Commission in its enquiry.

In two other cases besides that of Kerr the word *guilty* was used in connection with the names of individuals examined, viz, that of Fred R. Sharpe of whom the Commission made the pronouncement, "guilty of negligence in allowing the firm's accounts to be kept in an improper manner" And the other was that of the Comptroller General, Mr. Drummond, of whom the pronouncement was made, "guilty of nonperformance of duty of a grave character."

With the conviction that it is within the purview of this book, and that it will serve a useful purpose, the subject now under consideration has been given a place therein, and it may further that purpose if, when constrained to notice the ugly word, *guilty*, we put the question with a very strong personal allusion: "Who

is so innocent as to have no need to study the ugly word in connection with omissions and commissions in his own life?

¶ Let us train ourselves and our children to employ the civil and religious privileges which are within our reach, and we are much more likely to have men occupying our representative positions who can be trusted to fulfil both the law and the gospel.

To some, popularity would seem to have been their greatest misfortune, particularly if environment brought within reach a position of grave responsibility for which they lacked vital qualifications, in consequence of which they failed and were crushed under a weight of disaster in which unfortunately their best friends were involved.

It was in some such way as this that Mr. Machray came to grief. He was the nephew of the late Primate of Canada, Archbishop Machray, who might appropriately be called the father of Manitoba University, as he was elected as its Chancellor at the date of its founding in 1877, a position which he held up to the time of his death, March, 1904.

John Machray came to this country in 1874, at which date he was nine years of age; and from that time onward the Archbishop undertook his maintenance and stood the cost of his education; in fact, practically adopted him as a son. And it is pleasing to relate that to the last, the honorary father considered that his confidence had not been misplaced nor his generosity unrequited; for shortly before his death he spoke to a visitor of the comfort it had been to him to have the reliable assistance of his nephew.

During his years of study in St. John's College young Machray showed that he was well equipped, both mentally and morally. He took a high place in his studies, especially in classics, in which he graduated from Manitoba University. He obtained prizes and scholarships during his scholastic career.

Soon after taking his B.A. in Manitoba University in 1884, he left for England, and entered the University of Cambridge. He was then twenty years of age, and having decided on law as his profession, he took a course in that subject and in due course graduated as an LL.B.

On his return to Manitoba he joined the legal firm of Archibald and Howell as a student, becoming in time a partner; and when the others dropped out; the latter on promotion to a judgeship, and the former by retirement, he became head of the continuing firm, a position which he retained along with the continued respect of his fellow-citizens until the denouncement which it has been my painful task to describe.

As regards the church losses, after all has been said and done, justifiably or otherwise, it is pleasant to relate that church members as a whole are taking the matter well. There is a general feeling of humility and pity, and an almost entire absence of bitterness. There has been a wholesome shaking-up of church peoples' confidence as to having been all right just as they were, and a feeling that had it been so this thing might not have happened.

In this connection I quote from a speech by Sir Robert Borden, delivered in Toronto, January, 25, 1933, in which he expressed himself with his wonted perspicacity. And it occurred to me that the following clauses are adaptable to present church conditions in Rupert's Land. He said, " The men who at present control national destinies are confronted with a stern challenge To palter with such a situation is to follow the dangerous path The recent chastisement of the world may eventually find compensation in progress The fabric of our social order will be strengthened by the removal of excrescences and inequalities."

This hopeful view of the Dominion future by Canada's war premier may well be applied to the outlook of the Anglican Church in Canada; for after all, are not Church and State parts of the same thing? And in considering the special difficulties of Rupert's Land has there not already been discovered a solidarity of which aforesaid we were not sufficiently conscious? And although we still see through a glass darkly, the East and the West, and the clergy and the laity have come nearer together than ever before.

At the call of the Primate, the Executive of the General Synod met in Toronto, and devised and initiated a scheme whereby it is expected rehabilitation in the matter of lost funds will be accomplished in the course of three years. And as a good start

the clergy of both east and west have agreed to a seven per cent tax on their salaries, and as to the salaries of the Missionary bishops of Rupert's Land, the General Synod has guaranteed payment of these during the period of rehabilitation. So on the whole it can be seen that the morale of the church people of Canada has not been seriously impaired. Evil has been overcome with good.

IN CONCLUSION

After having for at least fifteen years discussed the causes of the World War and suffered from its consequences, the nations of the world do not seem to be approaching one whit nearer a condition of normal prosperity. In fact, conditions are so contradictory that nearly everything would appear to have been transformed into "a problem." Wheat in Canada is so cheap that some people actually found it economical to use it as fuel. The same with coffee in Brazil and cotton in South America. And millions of people have been thrown out of work, and have to be supported by the Government under which they live, or Corporations with which they are connected. Then there are millions upon millions of gold in the United States and France which also is unemployed, and for the time being unusually expensive. It is not by any means the war which is to be blamed for all this contradictoriness; but when the discordant conditions mentioned have been harmonized it is the war which will deserve the principal credit, because it set the people to think, and while as a result they are applying these principles which alone can prevent war, they will likewise at the same time be applying them in the re-adjustment of world conditions.

Of these principles, the League of Nations, which may be called a child of Woodrow Wilson, has proved itself a powerful exponent. It came into being on January 16, 1920. Its membership comprises fifty-seven nations, all of which subscribe towards its up-keep. The sum needed for this purpose is divided into so many units or portions, each of the value of \$6,000. Great Britain has assumed as her share one hundred of these units and has annually paid in \$600,000. Germany and France each subscribe \$450,000. The other subscriptions are considerably smaller, the

two smallest each being \$6,000. The League's greatest achievement is the World Court which is free to every nation in the world.

The League has answered the purpose for which it was created, and although for over a year it has failed to check the aggressions of Japan upon Chinese territory, it has by no means as yet brought out all its reserves of moral force; and by the time it has done so, no doubt the Japanese will have discovered that it is much easier to break down the Chinese wall than to defy the international Christian sentiment by which the League is supported.

When it was realized four years ago that, instead of recovery from the effects of the war, business was becoming steadily worse, there was no end to the schemes proposed whereby it was claimed there could be brought about a return to prosperity. Take the following as samples: "Down with capitalism." "Regard all men as equal and distribute more evenly the wealth of the nation." "Scrap the machinery." "Inflate the currency." Not thus will come re-adjustment, but by individual right-thinking; and then a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together. Conferences, therefore, such as the one held in Ottawa, July 21, 1932, serve a useful purpose. It was attended by hundreds of delegates and visitors from the nations of the British Empire. And next year there is to be a world-conference in London, England. Meeting thus in honest endeavour to learn what will be best for all, it is reasonable to believe they will make the discovery, and return to their respective countries with a brighter prospect of being able to provide every man and woman able and willing to work, the means of making a comfortable living.

As to any important change in the number of hours to be reckoned as a day's work, I don't think that likely. About eight hours with one hour allowed for refreshment is about right. As a last word I would *presume to suppose* that a common monetary system among nations who are all the time trading with each other would very much facilitate matters.

INDEX

- Academy, Red River, 97.
Adam, G. Mercer, historian, 51,
105, 106, 345, 346.
Alexander, Fort, 3, 6, 19.
Allan, Miss, 99.
Amalgamation, Hudson Bay and
North-West Co., 17, 56, 57.
America, U. S. of, 22.
Americans, 15.
Amnesty, a disputed, 330, 336.
Anderson, Bishop, 99, 140, 223.
Anderson, Jack, his house, 188-189.
Anderson, Tom, 245.
Anglican Church, 63, 69.
Anglican Church in Portage la
Prairie (Rev. H. George), 67-71.
Anglican and Presbyterian Church
Union, 34 years, 169-175.
Archibald, Governour, 333.
Armstrong, Miss, 99.
Assiniboia, Council of, 114-118, 142,
220, 301, 319.
Assiniboia, Governour of, 25.
Assiniboine River, 2-3, 6.
Assiniboine Indians, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13,
109, 215.
Aster, Jacob, 18.
Athabasca Lake, 19; Diocese, 108.

Bannatyne, A. G. B., 298, 307, 313.
Bathurst, Earl of, 41, 50.
Batoche, Sask., 346, 349.
Battleford, 349.
Bays, Rev. P. C., 373-374.
Bear, Big, 349.
Begg, Alexander, 298.
Berland, Pascal, 310.
Bible Society, 80.
Bill of Rights, 304-305, 338.
Bird, Chief Factor, 98.
Bird, Dr., 318, 326.
Bird, Frederick, M.L.A., 178.
Bird, James, 34.
Bird's Hill, 87.
Black, Judge, 318, 321.
Black, Rev. John, 152, 162.
Blackbirds, 207.
Blake, Hon. Edward, 337.
Bob, the horse, 205-206.
Bodenie, Miss, 80.

Bois Brules, 28, 36.
Bolshevik Russia, 105.
Bompas, Bishop, 108, 130.
Boom, 1881.
Borden, Sir Robert, 412.
Boucher, 36.
Boulton, Major, 310, 321, 328, 348.
Bourbon, Fort, 10.
Bows, the Indians, 11.
Boyd, Alfred, 320, 325.
Brandon House, 19, 26.
British Government, 22, 24.
British North America Act, 388.
Bruce, 155-157.
Bruce, John, 297, 309.
Bruneau, Francis, 224.
Bryce, Professor, 61, 67.
Buckingham and Coldwell, 219.
Buffalo Wool Co., 73.
Buffalo, Slaughter of, 225.
Bull's Run, Battle of, 226.
Bullyer, Cock of the Walk, 212.
Bulger, Captain, 72.
Bunn, Thomas, 319; Bunn, Dr.
John, 151, 229.
Burke, Mr., 37.
Burley, Charles, 360.
Burns, Robbie, 21.
Burnside, 186.
Burr, Fred, 281.

Coldwell, Editor of Nor-Wester,
219.
Calgary, 7, 12.
Cameron, Captain, 297.
Cameron, Duncan, 27, 32, 33, 39,
46, 47, 145.
Canadian Government, 41, 42, 50.
Canadian Law Courts, 55.
Canham, Rev. T. H., 353.
Carlton, Fort, 19, 347.
Cartier, Sir Geo. E., 342.
Cedar Lake, 10.
Chevalier de la Corne, 13.
Christie, Alexander, Gov., 94, 145,
204.
Churchill, Fort, 26, 81.
Church Missionary Society, 58, 68,
70.
Church Work, a need, 58.

- Cochrane, Archdeacon, his Indian congregation at P. la P., 194-195.
 Cochrane, Archdeacon, 85-90, 95, 96, 127, 130, 136, 176, 192, 211, 222, 257; his funeral, 260-261.
 Cochrane, Mrs., 92.
 Cochrane, Rev. Thomas, 139, 159.
 Collingwood, 337, 389.
 Coltman, Commissioner, 50, 51.
 Confederation, 337, 391.
 Confirmation Services Red River Settlement, 133.
 Cook, Henry, 224, 225, 244, 310.
 Cook, Rev. Thomas, 206.
 Cook, Rev. Gilbert, 161.
 Cook, William Hemming, 91.
 Corne, Chevalier de la, 13.
 Corne, Fort de la, 13.
 Council of Portage la Prairie, 235, 242.
 County, Kent, 24.
 Couer des Bois, 18.
 Cowan, Dr., Hudson Bay Company, 229, 298.
 Cowie, Isaac, 293.
 Cowley, Archdeacon, 127.
 Crees or Killistino, 6, 7, 47, 88, 109, 192.
 Cree Language, 113.
 Crescent Lake, 184, 240.
 Crofters, 22.
 Crown Him Lord of All, 84.
 Crozier, Major, 347.
 Cummings, Malcolm, 212.
 Cumberland, Fort, 19, 52, 128.
 Cunningham, Robert, 342.
 Currie, Archibald, 29.
 Currie, Thomas, 14.
 Curtis, Charles, 281.
 Cusitar, David, 243, 250.
 Daer, Fort, 25, 48.
 D'Argensen, Gov. of Quebec, 4.
 Dauphin, Fort, 10.
 Dease, Mr., 45, 310.
 Delegates to Ottawa, 330, 338.
 De Meurons, 43, 44.
 Demarais, Francis, 274-275.
 Dennis, Col., 307, 308.
 D'Orsonnen, Capt., 45.
 Douglas, Fort, 27, 45, 48.
 Douglas, Point, 25.
 Drummond, Sir Gordon, 41.
 Duck Lake, 348.
 Dumont, Gabriel, 346.
 Eastern Canada, 52.
 Eddystone, ship, 25.
 Edinburgh, 21.
 Edmonton, Fort, 19.
 Education, 396-399.
 Edward and Ann, ship, 25.
 Ellice, Fort, 141.
 Emerson, 155.
 English Half-castes, 135.
 English River, 32.
 Esquimaux, 81.
 "Far Away," 232-233.
 Fairford, 128-129.
 Fayan, Antoine O'Jew, 201.
 Fenian Raid, 336, 337.
 Fidler, Fort, 19.
 Fidler, Mr., 19, 45, 74.
 Findlay, James, 14.
 Findlayson, Mr., H. B. Gov., 124, 131.
 First Governour in Red River Settlement, 146.
 First Legislative Assembly in Manitoba, 338-340.
 Fish Creek, 349.
 Fletcher, Major, 50.
 Fletcher, Rev. Robert, 271.
 Floods of Red River, 160-162.
 Forks, The, 6, 18, 19.
 Fort William, 35, 44.
 Fortin, Rev. A. L., 356-359.
 Franklin, Dr., 81.
 France, New, 1, 4.
 Fraser, John, 319.
 Fraser, William, 326.
 French Government, 11, 12, 15.
 French Half-castes, 18, 32, 33, 135, 200, 201.
 Forsythe-Richardson Co., 16.
 Frobisher Bros., 14.
 Frobisher, Benjamin, 16.
 Frobisher, Joseph, 16.
 Frobisher's death, 53.
 Frog Plain, 35, 37.
 Fur-trade returns, 4, 14, 16.
 Gaddy, William, 310.
 Gaelic Language, 22, 60, 162-163.
 Galissonaire, G., Marquis de la, 11.
 Garrioch's Creek, 205.
 Garrioch, John, 228.
 Garrioch, Geo., 207.
 Garrioch, Peter, 340-341.
 Garrioch, William, 85, 87, 122.
 Garrioch, William, Junior, 178.

Garry, Fort, Upper, 299-300.
 Garry, Deputy Gov., Nicholas, 80, 94.
 George, Rev. Henry, 258-259, 264, Last Sermon, 288-289.
 Georgian Bay, 27.
 Gibraltar, Fort, 18, 19, 33, 66, 72.
 Good-looking Indians, 11.
 Goulet, Elzear, 333.
 Governour of Red River Colony, 71.
 Gowlar, Mr., 197, 221.
 Gunn, Hon. Donald, 33, 70, 71.
 Grand Forks, 48.
 Grand Rapids, 18, 52.
 Grant, Cuthbert, 28, 32, 38.
 Grasshoppers, 53, 207.
 Gregory, John, 16.
 Grey Nuns, 247-248.
 Grist Mill, the first at Portage la Prairie, 254.
 Groseilliers, 1-3.

Halket, 71.
 Hallet, William, 310.
 Harbidge, George, 66.
 Hardisty, R., 314.
 Hargrave, Joseph, 150-151.
 Harmon, Daniel, 3.
 Hatch, Major, 245.
 Henry, Alexander, 14.
 Hendry, Mr., 216.
 High Bluff, 192, 226.
 Hilliar, Rev. C., 178.
 Hines, Rev. John, 344.
 Holland Landing, 27.
 Holt, Lieutenant, 36.
 "Home Front, The," 404.
 Horse, Indians, 11.
 Hourie, Tom, 350.
 House, J. M., 228.
 Hudson's Bay Charter, 19, 20, 26, 54, 56, 143.
 Hudson's Bay Commissions, 57.
 Hudson's Bay Company, 15, 18, 19, 59, 63, 107, 217.
 Hudson's Bay Company Chaplains, 67, 85, 95, 139.
 Hunt, F. L., 199.
 Hydman, Mr., 297.

Idaho, U.S.A., 346.
 Ile a la Crosse, 19.
 Importation of Cows and Oxen, 77.
 Improvement Society of Portage la Prairie, 281-284.
 Indian Congregation at Portage la Prairie, 194-195.

Indians of the Little Cherry, 11.
 Indian Presents, 201.
 Indian Schools of Portage la Prairie, 205, 212-214, 218.
 Indians, The, 6, 14, 47, 68, 90, 91, 108, 112, 121, 346.
 Ingham, Mrs., 98.
 Ironside, a Sioux, murdered by the Sioux, 276-277.
 Island, Prince Edward, 23.

Jack River, 29, 30, 39, 46.
 James, Rev. Mr., 138.
 Jeffery, Rev. C. N. F., 359-361.
 Johnson, Judge, 151.
 John West, Rev., Church, 163.
 Jones, Rev. David, 81, 85, 88, 96, 137.
 Jones, Mrs., 98, 126.
 Jonquire, Fort la, 12.
 Juliopolis, Bishop, 119.

Kennedy, Miss Mary, 99.
 Kemp, Mr. Surveyor, 74.
 Kaveny, Owen, 25.
 Kidnapping of Little Six, 247.
 Kildonan, 49, 136, 307.
 Kingston, 24.
 Kirkby, Rev., 178.
 Kootemey, 123.
 Kwin-gwa-ha-ka, 273.

Lac la Pluie, 45.
 Laidlaw and Party, 54.
 Lake Superior, 14.
 Lane, Alexander, 24.
 Lapine, Ambroise, 307, 313.
 Larocque, 144.
 League of Nations, 407.
 Legardeur de St. Pierre, 12.
 Life for a Life, 251-252.
 Little Foxes (Indians), 11.
 Logan, Chief Factor Robt., 98, 145.
 Long Portage, 144.
 Lord Bathurst, 41.
 Louis, Cross of St., 11.
 Lower Church, 75.
 Lowman, Mrs., 98.
 Lowman, Maurice, son of above, 285, 325.
 Loyalists, United Empire, 15.
 Lynch, Dr., 341.

Macallum, Rev. John, 97, 98, 139, 140.

-
- MacDonald, Sheriff Alexander, 37.
 MacDonell, Miles, 25, 33, 41, 42, 44.
 Macheehkiwis, 245.
 Machray, Archbishop, 263, 264, 265-267.
 Machray, John A., 408-413.
 McBeath, Rev. G. R., 344.
 McBeath, Robert, 316.
 McBean, Kenneth, 242, 271.
 McBean, Robt., 242.
 McKay, Thomas, 347.
 McDonald, Archdeacon Robt., 160.
 McDonald, Roderick, 25.
 McDonell, Alexander, 28, 32, 39.
 McDonell, John, 2, 31.
 McDougall, appointed Governour, 294.
 McDougall resisted, 295.
 McGillivray, William, 18, 44.
 McIntosh, John, 29.
 McKay, Angus, 340-341.
 McKay, John R., 177.
 McKay, Thomas, 347.
 McKenzie, Alexander, Gov., 17, 95.
 McKenzie, Roderick, 16.
 McLean, Archdeacon, 328.
 McLean, Hugh, 29, 35.
 McLean, John, 229, 242-244.
 McLeod, Alexander, 16.
 McLeod, Donald, 19.
 McLeod, Archibald, Norman, 28.
 McLeod, John, 28.
 McMorine, Rev. S., 361-365.
 McTavish, H. B. Governour, 150, 151, 230, 298, 319.
 McTavish, John Geo., 53.
 McTavish, Simon, 16, 17, 23.
 McVicar, Geo., 311.
 Mair, Charles, 200, 311, 322.
 Malplaquet, Battle of, 5.
 Mandans, 8-11, 14.
 Mandate to Gov. McDougall, 299.
 Manitoba Lake, 3, 10.
 Manitoba Republic, 285-288.
 Manitoba University and Affiliated Institutions, 400.
 Manning, J. C. (reaper), 208.
 Marque, Lieut. de la, 6.
 Marriage-under difficulties, 78-79.
 Marriot, Capt., heroes, 249-251.
 Matheson, Rev. Alexander, 271.
 Matheson, Archbishop, 168.
 Maurepa, Fort, 6, 7, 12.
 Metis, 26, 92, 111, 145, 153, 289, 291, 333-334.
 Middlechurch, 75, 84, 87.
 Middleton, General, 349-350.
 Monkman, Joseph, 310, 329.
 Montreal, 11, 14.
 Mooniyas, 202.
 Moose, Fort, 53.
 Morley Reserve, 7.
 Mountain, Bishop, 99, 132-134, 135, 138.
 Muscular Christianity, 209-210.
 Muskrat River, 48.
 Naisbit, Major, 263.
 Nasmith, Col. Geo., G.C., C.M.G., 403.
 Nettley Creek, 90.
 New-Archangel, 18.
 New Era in Farming, 90.
 New Market, 27.
 Niverville, 12.
 Norquay, John, 338.
 Norquay, Thomas, 227.
 North Pole, The, 254.
 North-West Co., 2, 3, 15, 16, 18.
 Norway House, 29, 57.
 Nor'-Wester, The, 217, 227, 231-232, 246.
 Noyelle, M de, 11.
 North West America, 1, 3.
 O'Lone, Bob, Jim Clewitt and Bill Sammon, 272-274.
 Ochagach, 6, 8, 12.
 O'Donohue, Mr., 313.
 Ojibeways, 6.
 Old Fort, The, 205.
 Onion, Capt., 160.
 Oregon, 158.
 Orkney men, 84, 88.
 Ottawa River, 53.
 Pacheetoo, 194, 195, 196, 197, 204, 228.
 Pakwahkikun, 193.
 Pangman, Peter, 16, 34.
 Parisien, 324.
 Pas, Fort, 10.
 Pascoyak, Fort, 10, 12.
 Passenger Pigeon, 253.
 Parker, Ven. Archdeacon, 368-372.
 Park's Creek, 87, 158.
 Plains, Warden of, 26.
 Portage la Prairie Collegiate, 363.
 Portage la Prairie Churches, 379-380, 380-382, 382-383, 383-384, 385-386.
 Portage la Prairie School Teachers, 374-379.

Index

v

Peguis, 47, 81-83, 178, 192.
 Pelly, Gov. Robert, 148-149.
 Pelly, Fort, 19.
 Pembina, 25, 32, 45.
 Pembrun, Mr., 34.
 Pensioners, British troops, 154-160.
 Pierre, Fort St., 5.
 Pinasiopee, 194.
 Point Douglas, 30.
 Pond, Peter, 16.
 Poplar Point, 192, 229.
 Portage Creek, 3, 4, 182.
 Portage la Prairie, 2, 3, 19, 32, 34, 48, 141, 177, 192, 199.
 Poundkeeper, 349.
 Portage Volunteers, 325-326.
 Prairie de Chien, 54.
 Pratt's Landing, 183, 205.
 Presbyterians, 96, 216.
 Prince Edward Island, 25.
 Prince of Wales, ship, 25.
 Prince Rupert, 1.
 Proclamation, 306, 315.
 Pritchard, John, 35, 36, 37, 38, 63.
 Progressiveness within bounds, 392.
 Provencher, Bishop, 77, 119, 224.
 Provencher and Demoulin, 77.
 Provisional Government, 297, 300, 309, 313, 317-318.
 Pruden, Mr., 99.
 Pwanuk, see Sioux.

Quebec City, 4.
 Qu'Appelle, Fort, 32.
 Qu'Appelle, River, 2, 19.

Radisson, 1-4; Radisson and Groseillers, 388.
 Rainy Lake, 5, 19.
 Rainy River, 5, 45.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 25.
 Rat Creek, 182.
 Red Lake, 19.
 Red River, 6.
 Red River Milling Co., 220.
 Red River Frosts, 20, 125.
 Red River Rebellion, 280, 289, 322.
 Reine, Fort de la, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 34, 177.
 Revival Services, 223.
 Richardson, Dr., 81.
 Richot, Rev. Pere, 321.
 Riel, Louis, 290, 309, 350-355.
 Riel Conventions, 302-304.
 Riel's Prisoners, 311-312; Released, 322-324.

Robertson, Colin, 26, 30, 33.
 Robinson of the New Nation, 313.
 Rockies, 7, 12.
 Ross and Coldwell, 178, 199.
 Ross, James, 223, 318.
 Ross, John, 16.
 Ross, Sheriff Alexander, 70, 71, 95, 97, 110, 130, 145, 154, 203.
 Rouge, Fort, 6, 18.
 Row Street, 240.
 Royal Canadian Rifles, British Troops, 154-160.
 Rupert's Land, 21, 22, 23, 57, 59.
 Ryan, Judge, 263.

Salaberry, Col. de, 314.
 Salt Springs, 288.
 Sand Hills, 183.
 Saskatchewan Rebellion, 343.
 Saskatchewan River, 10.
 Saulteaux, 7, 47, 88, 109, 192, 195.
 Sault Ste. Marie, 43, 44.
 Sayer, Guillaume, 151-152.
 Schultz, Dr., 307, 308, 309, 315-317, 322.
 Scott, Alfred H., 321.
 Scott, Thomas, 310, 311, 314, 322; Executed, 329.
 Scott, Sir Walter, 21.
 Seed Grain Troubles, 54.
 Selkirk, Earl of, 20-31, 41, 47; Meets Colonists, in Red River, 49; His Death, 55, 193.
 Selkirk Colonists, Honour Roll, 61-62.
 Selkirk, Countess of, 42.
 Selkirk, Indian Treaty, 47, 48.
 Semple, Gov. Robert, 32, 35.
 Seven Oaks, 35, 36, 38; Twenty-six Tragic Deaths, 39-41.
 Setfer, J. J., 250.
 Shaw, Angus, 53.
 Sibley, Gen., 246.
 Simpson, Sir Geo., 92, 94, 95, 99, 122.
 Simpson, Thomas, 144, 154-157.
 Sinclair, James, 177.
 Sioux, 7, 9, 109, 111, 246, 252.
 Sioux, arrival at Portage la Prairie, 215.
 Sioux, omniverous eaters, 249.
 Sixth Rifles, British Troops, 154-160.
 Skye, Isle of, 23.
 Small Pox, 14.
 Smith, Donald A., 214, 315, 328, 333.

Smith, Lieut.-Col. Osborne, 337.
Smithurst, Rev., (St. Peter's), 127,
138.

Souris, Fort, 19, 26.

Souris River, 16.

Spence, Gov., 293-294.

Spence, Mrs. Jack, 256-257.

Spencer, John, 26.

Spogan Garry, 123, 124, 125.

St. Andrew's, 88.

St. Boniface, 310.

St. Clements, 92.

St. Crosse, 140.

St. Francois Xavier, 200.

St. James, 46.

St. John's Five Churches, 163-168.

St. John's, 2nd Church, 164; 3rd
Church, 164; 4th, 165; 5th, 168.

St. John's Educational Institutions
and Teachers, 101-103.

St. Dennis, Louis, 147-148, 153.

St. Mary's 1st Church Building,
Portage la Prairie, 189-190.

St. Paul, U.S.A., 217.

St. Pierre, Legardeur de, 13.

St. Mary's Portage la Prairie Con-
gregation, 179-180.

Stagg, Rev., 129.

St. Peter's, 89, 125, 126, 141.

Stephenson, George, 391.

Stornoway, 25.

Stonies, Stone Indians, See Assini-
boines.

Stone Fort, Lower Fort Garry, 94.

Strange, General, 349.

Strachan, Bishop, 42, 64.

Stringer, Archbishop, 360.

Strong, Rev. J. I., 366-367.

Stutsman, Mr., 314.

Survey Complications, 235-237.

Sutherland, Mr.; Hudson's Bay Co.
Official, 34.

Sutherland, James, an Elder, 77.

Sutherland, John, Senator, 319.

Sutherland, son of Senator shot,
324.

Superior, Lake, 14, 27.

Swan, Rev. Minto, 372-373.

Swiss Immigrants, 78.

Tache, Bishop, 224, 230-231, 233-
234, 295-296, 313, 330, 343.

The Quarter referred to, 224.

Thibault, Vicar Gen., 314.

Thom, Adam, Recorder, 150, 152.

Three Epochs, 141.

Three Rivers, 5.

Threshing Mill, the first at Portage
la Prairie, 254.

Toronto, 139.

Transfer, the, 263, 265, 271-272,
292.

Transport, old methods, 3, 4, 5,
8-9.

Tucker, author of "Rainbow of the
North," 89, 119, 120.

Turnip, wild, 25.

Utopia, 199.

Vancouver, Fort, 124.

Verandrye, 2-3, 4-12, 11, 12, 18,
182.

Verandrye, Francois, 10, 11, 12.

Verandrye, Pierre, 10.

Vestry, 1st of St. Mary's, Portage
la Prairie, 280.

Walker, Mrs., 216.

Ward, Artemus, 402-403.

Warden of the Plains, Cuthbert
Grant, 26.

Warren, Mr., 27.

Wattville Regiment, 43.

Watt's fine thinking re steam, 390.

Wesley, Rev. Chas., 61.

West, Rev. John, 59, 65, 77.

West's, Mr., Journal, 79-80.

Westbourné, 206.

Westbourne Church, 225.

Whipple, Bishop, 246.

Whitford, Jimuk, 240-241.

Williams, Gov., 52, 54.

Winnipeg, Lake, 4, 6, 12, 19.

Winnipeg River, 6.

Winnipegosis, 10.

Wolseley, Col., Expedition, 159;
arrived at Fort Garry, 331-332.

World War, 401-407.

Woods, Lake of the, 5, 45.

X. Y. Company, 16, 17.

York Factory, 25, 53.

Young, Rev. George, 329.

